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## Near East/South Asia Report

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1 April 1986

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ALGERIA

UNIVERSITY ROLE AND PROBLEMS REVIEWED.

Role and Changes Discussed

Algiers ALGERIE ACTUALITE in French 9 Jan 86 pp 30-31

[Article by F. Akeb: "The University - A Long-Term Institution."]

[Text] President Chadli Benjedid stated before the extraordinary congress of the FLN Party: "We must commit our universities, our youth and our students to participate in the life of the nation and contribute to its overall activities, particularly when it comes to acquiring the technology which cannot be obtained from simple agreements with the industrialized countries.

We must guarantee all the prerequisites and make use of all our potential in order to acquire this knowledge through work and effort rather than by importing plants or purchasing sophisticated equipment from abroad.

It belongs to our children to acquire this technology through science and practice."

But, how did the university begin? A basic question for anyone wanting to be objective: The university is in the image of this teenager from whom we often expect adult behavior.

The Houari Boumediene University is such a university, sitting in the middle of the mud and of the bulldozers, its completed buildings, which will make it possible to open the new school term normally, standing out like beacons of liberation. Like a teenager, the university has not yet reached the age of reason; neither does it have traditions nor deep roots in the land; nor does it have men to boast about it as others do for centers of knowledge scattered throughout the world.

The Algerian university derives its pride from elsewhere, from numbers and just political choices which, together with the democratization of education, advertise its justified expansion. In quantitative terms, the university is unassailable; better still, if it were to be compared to the universities of neighboring countries, it would soar high above them. Yet, in this case also, how did the university begin? It stemmed from the Faculty of Algiers partially burned down by the OAS [Secret Army Organization] fire of 1962! From the Institute of Agronomics created at the beginning of the century for the benefit

of colonists who were interested in agriculture and who only trained a total of three Algerian agricultural experts! From the El-Harrach School of Engineering which, in 40 years, only conferred five degrees to Algerians. The university stems from two institutes which taught the colonists' children and from one faculty the library of which was burned down. It began in the 60's, at a time when 90 percent of the population was illiterate, and with the ridiculous total of nine professors and one lecturer! The purpose of this reminder is not to focus attention generously on today's university, but to avoid a hasty judgment outside of its historical context. The first goal of the university was "to rectify social historical injustice" by making itself accessible to the children of the lower classes. It first opened its door after the independence to some 3,000 students whose number, since then, has doubled, tripled and quadrupled. They very quickly overcrowded the inherited faculty and spilled unto hastily converted facilities. The former Oran air base became a university; the Algiers hospital, a teachers' college; and buildings were converted to student dormitories. The university had only one priority: To teach the largest possible number by opening its doors to the large-scale democratization-of-education movement. It succeeded and it is on this basis that it must first be assessed if it is to be appreciated, whatever the problems it is currently experiencing. Moreover, these problems will be discussed later. Now, the state made a tremendous effort to achieve this goal: Four large universities, built in Algiers, Oran, Constantine and Annaba, two of which specializing in science and technology.

Decentralization was achieved by opening university centers in the towns of the interior; they made it easier for girls to have access to higher education: 35 percent of the students are girls. In the past, high-school girls, unable to leave the parental home after graduation, interrupted their studies abruptly. Each of 28 towns will soon acquire a university center with all the confusion which the emergence of a university in a remote region far from large urban centers will involve. Finally, unlike what is being done in our neighboring countries, the state offers all graduates the possibility of choosing a course of study and following long-range studies, such as medicine and technology, by routinely giving out scholarships, pre-salaries, housing in university housing developments, transportation and food at almost symbolic rates. To be sure, the meals are not very good, but the students pay 1.20 DA [dinar]. The real cost of the meal is roughly 10 DA. The difference is subsidized by the state. This almost total takeover by the state, from primary school to the lengthiest and costliest of studies, is more important than the quality of the meal or of the housing. Without these improvements, the USTHB, with its mass of students, would not look today like a plant employing thousands of workers.

Some achievements must be emphasized: In 22 years, the university was able to turn out 66,300 cadres and 7,300 university professors without any entrance requirements. Minister of Higher Education Brerhi concurs, saying: "Our university is thoroughly democratic; it is attended by children of the lower classes..." This is not the case in all the countries of the world. It is not, for example, the case of neighboring countries, nor even of France where the best known universities are extremely selective and charge tuition.

Algeria pays between 8 and 10 million centimes to enroll students attending the Polytechnic School in France. These simple truths, the result of correct

political choices, had to be recalled, even if, henceforward, more than a lineup of optimistic figures is demanded of the university. The university of the 80's is expected to support the economy and to show a frankly scientific and technological orientation. "It is the first time that technology is ahead, asserts the minister of education. As a matter of fact, for the first time in Algeria, there were 10,000 students enrolled in technical courses of study. And for the first time also, 10 percent of the students signed up for the less popular majors, such as earth sciences, whereas, in the past, only 1 percent of the students had a try at them. Student controls adopted over these past few years made it possible to increase the number of technical courses of study and to assign students more equitably, as the majority of them were choosing the medical sciences.

Control hinges on the student's scholastic aptitudes; he must receive a median grade (10) in the basic subjects of his chosen major. And this, regardless of the number of students involved. It is therefore more an assignment of students according to their aptitudes than a selection. The minister of higher education stated on this subject: "We have avoided the tragedy of selection through failure, and the students played the game; they understood the need for control. The best results were achieved last year and the students worked better because their choice was conditioned by the effort they made..." By assigning students, it is now possible to stir them toward courses of study which, until now, were suffering from lack of interest on the part of high-school graduates. Such is the case for the veterinary sciences, agronomics and secondary education certification, despite pre-salaries to attract applicants. For monetary reasons as well as social prestige, students would like to choose, if possible, medicine, private law, civil engineering and architecture rather than hydraulics or mining engineering. To be sure, not all students are satisfied; for example, those who were unable to sign up for medicine and were forced to sign up for dental surgery or something else would prefer a national competition instead of the median grade of 10 and vice-versa. But still, the real debate centers on reconsidering pre-selection at the secondary level.

Another shift in university life is its integration into the industrial sector. "It is necessary to think about promoting legally this incipient engineering." For the industrial sector, it involves using the capacities of the university and for the university, those of industry. It is especially true for on-site training. Some students, for example, prepared their theses on recent railroad projects. Engineers and technicians must adapt immediately to on-site conditions and take advantage of the launching of projects to get hands-on experience. Although already in place, these mechanisms are not used routinely. As a matter of fact, the university-industrial sector relationship was used on a one-to-one basis; it is now in the process of being institutionalized. A training strategy, involving also financial and legal support, is being formulated with each enterprise. The subvention for on-site training was 7 dinars per student, per day; it was not enough. It is due to be increased.

The university is stirring, to be sure; it is trying to catch up, to fill in gaps; and it is acknowledging its weaknesses, this one for example: It has few technology teachers. It takes 10 years after graduation to get a high-level researcher. Currently, they are very few in the universities. Another weak point: Despite

the reformulation of qualifications in order to adapt them to the need of the country, the introduction of a new concept, "scientific culture" and no longer "scientific education," and the purchase of hundreds of microcomputers, a lot remains to be done in education. The university recently created an inspection of education, but we are far from a country like the GDR where the sole duty of 300 researchers is to reflect on education and the teaching sciences.

What methods should be used when 500 students sit in the lecture room? What educational tools, when over 2,000 of them are enrolled in pre-clinic classes? Those are issues that the university has not yet entirely resolved. Moreover, an attempt is being made to control students' performance in a better way. An annual control is being set up; it is an adjustment among subjects, but with eliminatory grades.

The minister of higher education insists that the best way to deal with the rest of the educational problems is still to talk to the students and to invite vice-chancellors and heads of institutions to call general assemblies in order to avoid dragging problems that can be settled with two student delegates. The ability to train its own teachers is one of the assets of the university; 83 percent of the teaching staff is Algerian with an imbalance in the grades: 100 percent for assistants, 95 percent for associate teachers, but a poor percentage for full professors. Algeria has a total of 700 state doctors; this figure includes all the specialties. This is a small number. The university is thinking of using in a supervisory capacity, and on a large scale, the young people from the National Service, the same way it gives associate teachers the opportunity to work in the university and to make short trips abroad for the preparation of their theses. Training and sending students undergoing training are a prerequisite condition of any purchase of equipment by Algeria. We therefore need several thousands cadres for the year 2000. Does this mean that job openings are not yet a problem? The minister of higher education believes that the social sciences are already experiencing some difficulty. This is often due, for example, to law students seeing themselves as lawyers and not as administrators of a district or a commune. Attitudes must be changed through a revision of the requirements and choices of some of the courses of studies for particular majors, especially those geared to education.

Finally, for the first time, research has its own budget and, as an encouragement, researchers are allowed to reinvest the money they earned through studies and research contracts, while hoping that research will some day achieve self-financing," concludes a very confident minister.

Who knows? These hopes are still remote; they are those of a community made up of 187,000 individuals, where conflicts, disputes and forethoughts will inevitably arise. And where weaknesses will inevitably surface.

Algiers ALGERIE ACTUALITE in French 9 Jan 86 pp 32-33

[Article by Ghania Mouffok: "Getting a Masters, Hard Work"]

[Text] Searching for university students is as frustrating as searching for "our" intellectuals. One only encounters their problems! Yet, statistically, in terms of locations, built lecture rooms, available beds, etc, the university is not in such a bad shape (see Akeb's article). Each year, the university is involved in preparing the future of thousands of individuals. Is this, however, sufficient to produce a coherent and structured entity in which each person's place is clearly defined? Is it sufficient to shape an institution endowed with legal and physical capabilities enabling it to grow, not only statistically in terms of planned positions, but also socially in terms of a greater number of positions for the sizable groups of individuals who are propelling it forward, teachers and students in particular?

Post-graduate programs, or more loosely the third cycle of higher education, are one of the special feature of this growth.

With the establishment of various forms of exams, only the best students have access to this cycle.

The elite of the elite! To take the baccalaureate exam and succeed is already a feat. To obtain a licence, an engineering degree or a doctorate in general medicine is deserving. To register for post-graduate courses is a record! At the polytechnical school, claimed to be the "center of excellence" by its director, four out of five engineering applicants are refused entry for post-graduate studies. Nonetheless, this year's enrollment totals 15,000, 60 percent in post-graduate programs.

But what makes them run?

For those who hold scholarships abroad (40 percent) the reasons are clear.

Why should they bypass a stay in the United States, or even in France, all expenses paid, with learning with a capital L as their sole objective? These students belong to the "winners' circle." They are young; moreover, it is one of the conditions for obtaining the scholarship. They were born into "a good family" or, better yet, they are hard workers with strategies, even unconscious, for social success. And if they, too, have their problems, the majority, placed in relatively ideal conditions for studying, will receive the degree for which they enrolled. Will they come back or not? That is already another problem. In point of fact, scholarships abroad work like "bonuses to leave," in the words of Director of Post-Graduate Scientific Research Khelladi. Even the smallest of these scholarships, 4,000 French francs or 8,000 DA on the black market, are at least 10 times larger than those of the post-graduates who remain in Algeria.



The amount of scholarship currently awarded to those students who stay at home immediately raises the problem of their status. In practice, being both student and worker, they slave for semesters on hand, back and forth between the office and the lecture room. Azzouz is a S3 student at the English institute. With a tired and derisive laughter he said: "At the beginning of the term, the professor even advised us against working because, it seems the courses have too much material." He is 30 years old and a teacher; he has reached the age when he can no longer sponge off his family, even under the laudable pretext of understanding "all of Shakespeare." In his "class," 18 out of 100 students who prepared the course passed. Of those, only six (one-third of those who succeeded) stayed to the end. Losses are substantial in all the courses of study. If to be only a student in the third cycle is an exception, to be a teacher remains the ideal arrangement. For the others, the possibility of mixing their wage-earning activity and their studies is often left to the discretion of their on-the-job supervisor, the number of legal absences being greatly insufficient. In the halls of Algiers' central faculty, we found them dead tired but, more than anything else, down and out: "We do not know our status, the administration is non-existent. We are here, we are studying and we shall see later."

Later on, having gone through semesters of studies as best as they could, many, not even bothering to take their masters or taking it with much delay, will never be seen again. At the ministry, it is estimated that there is a yearly average of 250 to 300 master theses defended, excluding the medical sciences. The institute of medical sciences operates in a relatively autonomous and coherent fashion despite the many problems encountered by the residents.

Thus, having the same obligations as the graduate students and the same problems with supervision, up-to-date bibliographic resources, etc, the working students lose at the same time the advantages which come from being a graduate student. To follow a course of study under such circumstances, one must really want to study! As a matter of fact, many of them, not quite so young any more and with many years of professional experience, are enrolled in a master's program to escape the routine of work. Some, more farsighted, commit themselves to the program as an additional asset for their career. At least, this is true in the social sciences. But, usually, students enroll in post-graduate programs because they want to become university teachers, the more so as, now, professors wear robes like in the movies.

And that is precisely where the shoe pinches: Not everyone who wants to get to wear the robe.

The goal of the post-graduate program established in 1976 was, in a first stage, to Algerianize the body of assistants, then, in a second stage, the body of associate teachers.

Until then, the teachers' training program had been based on the French system. According to Khelladi: "...Enrollment did not begin to increase until 1978 and the master's program did not really get going until 1980. Therefore, theses could not begin to be written before 1982-1983." In some institutes, like the institute of sociology, the first master's theses will only be defended this year. Access to post-graduate programs varies from one institute to another depending upon its supervisory capability.

A poor relative of the university, the post-graduate program lives as a "parasite" of the graduate program. The former will not get an autonomous budget before 1987.

Meanwhile, the lack of equipment, "small incidentals" and literature compromises its activities, more particularly in the experimental sciences. In the social sciences, in addition to the difficulties attached to gathering data, the teachers' ability to supervise has been curtailed as they are back in school once again: They are undergoing Arabization.

According to the texts, post-graduate students should work under contract for their first year and as assistant trainees beginning with their third semester. But there are no more openings: The market is saturated. There were only 150 teaching positions opened for the 708 who enrolled in the social sciences last year. And although in the exact sciences there were 475 teachers' positions for the 408 who enrolled, the short-term trend is the same. In some institutes, there are provisions which make it mandatory for post-graduate students to sign on their honor that they will abandon the hope of ever becoming teachers. (Whereas, in the texts, they have the right to dream.)

This saturation renders null and void the whole make-up of the post-graduate program.

Coupled almost officially to education, post-graduation programs operate as nothing more than training centers for teachers. The number of positions to be opened will be related to the number of available positions on the basis of university needs. It ensues that the independent scientific research position will no longer be possible as a professional career for a teacher. In other words, although it is normal for teachers' promotions to be tied to the acquisition of a degree, it is less obvious to tie the acquisition of a researcher's degree to a special job in the civil service. According to Khelladi, plans are still being drawn at the ministry: "In addition to a post-graduate teaching degree, the ministry of higher education is considering the creation of a specialized post-graduate degree for professionals.

What about scientific research? Two draft texts will be submitted to the government to redefine the status of researcher and associate researcher. According to the ministry: "The whole teachers' training file is going to be reviewed. They must all settle their problems by 1986."

The problems are many. Those who came first, even when they are assistants, are either free-lancers or contract workers. This is not a very desirable position, for it is unstable. When there are training missions abroad, they routinely are bypassed for only regular professors, or those in training, are eligible.

This could be dismissed as not being too serious. But there is more... and it is more expensive. Mrs F has been an associate trainee at the institute of psychology for the past 4 years: "I began a DEA [Advanced Study Degree] in the University of Algiers. I gave it up after 2 years because I was not being properly supervised and I was already teaching. I was studying blindly. I enrolled in France and it was the best thing I ever did in my life." Even if Mrs F goes to France every 2 months at her own expenses.

Those who prefer to defend their thesis in France rather than here, even without a scholarship, are numerous. According to Mounia, an assistant in sociology: "We are witnessing a discrediting of the Algerian university."

In any case, this does not mean that the "level"--a fashionable term which remains to be defined, for very often its evaluation is different from one institute or one town to the next--is any worse than somewhere else. According to Mohamed, a professor of contemporary history: "Incomparable systems cannot be compared. Elsewhere, research findings have a specific purpose, subjected to the logic of the needs of the companies or public or private institutions which are financing the post-graduate program."

Thus, a totally unstable balance is becoming established with the arrival of post-graduate programs from Anglo-Saxon, French, Middle Eastern, German and socialist countries. For example, the French DEA is a 15-page project whereas the Algerian DEA is a ready-to-be-defended thesis, yet they are considered equal.

The ministry appears aware of all these problems. The status of the whole post-graduate program is under study as well as the standardization of teachers. Among other things, scholarships for students remaining in Algeria are expected to be on par with those of students going abroad. And for an interim period, assistants will be retained only in those university courses of studies with a small enrollment and in the INES [expansion unknown]. A DEA and a DES [Higher Studies Degree] will no longer be considered adequate to teach.

The university is not an end unto itself. Its effectiveness is measured by its ability to turn out "marketable" specialists on the national, and why not, international job market. And if it is true that the university is training people unable to find work, a more than unfortunate occurrence, it would be a mistake to blame the democratization of higher education and to wish for selection. Unemployment depends on market logic. It is therefore better to have a degree and be unemployed than to be illiterate and unemployed!

In other respects, so-called basic research, especially in the social sciences, is viewed with a certain contempt.

And if it is true that, currently, in western countries, the university goes hand in hand efficiently with production, let us remember, however, that in these countries, this situation is the product of cultural and scientific accumulation.

In our country, the university is "methodologically" fragile; we are still in the readaptation phase, seeking our own concepts. Gallileo is still a problem in our universities! Our students are still wondering how to understand the static aspect of the "seven skies" since everything is motion. Students in sociology end their presentations with the conclusion "Only God knows." If this assertion has the merit of making knowledge relative, its hidden facet is a narrowness of mind conducive to prohibiting thinking.

And yet, Galileo was right: The earth does revolve! And does not the Divine Message call for spreading knowledge where obscurantism and ignorance reign?

## Teaching Methods Need To Be Modernized

Algiers ALGERIE ACTUALITE in French 9 Jan 86 pp 34-35

[Article by A. Djilali: "Knowledge and Dedication." Passages in slantlines printed in boldface.]

[Text] Knowledge is reached through arduous paths, between lectures and the race for a degree.

The horrible blackboard is still there. In the final analysis, it is an unacknowledged writing slate which is the focal point of the lecture room; it rivets all the attention needed for the catharsis of knowledge to take place. Moreover, it is a poorly connected image which, in addition, is aging badly. In this era of artificial memory, it is repetition, a text learned by heart and automatic response more than reliance on one's intelligence; instead of topics, communication and theoretical mediation, it is knowledge reduced to its simplest factor; instead of dialogue, it is a single and monolithic order, i.e., the blackboard, the teacher and the lesson. As for the student, whatever subject he was studying, he has just completed a particularly difficult school curriculum, carried out at full speed on the fiery paths of knowledge, with a host of questions left unanswered.

It is total repression of the adolescent's world, the smell of chalk, and, sometimes the stick. It is teaching reduced to fetishism. The blackboard is always present with the teacher close by. If he moves away from it, he points to it with his finger. It is his prop for feeling sure of himself and, if his gesture are majestic, he will even succeed in making it come to life. To be sure, the gestures may be majestic, but they are precarious.

Many things happen on either side of the fence. From the visible and spectacular appearance of the lecture room to the more intimate ambience of supervised work, a more often than not tense teacher-student relationship is established. Paradoxically, when the times comes for questions to be answered, they have long been forgotten. An inveterate student told me: "They come in alive, they leave spiritless," sententious and without appeal. And when a professor tells you that "It is normal!", it means that somewhere along the way he has been through a lot.

The teacher claims that students are absolute duds and the students claim that teachers lack qualifications. Some say it is the result of Arabization, others that the French-speakers are to blame. Hum! It involves a very serious crisis of confidence. An added lack of notices and cultural activities compounds the problem. Longing for the lycée, a romantic attitude, a second year political science student will tell you: "First, there is the environment, the blossoming of the individual, curiosity... courses alone do not make a faculty, it is everything that goes with it..." As a matter of fact, what goes with it is what gives a university its spirit and calling. A student, who is an union member, protests angrily: "The absence of dialogue is basically a real democratic problem."

And then, it just breaks your heart to hear Zohra, a darling student of English, tell you: "We are 20 years old and we are not having enough fun.

Majoring in Arab literature, Khaoula told me that, during a course in comparative literature, one of her friends, having asked a question about French-speaking Algerian writers, was told by the professor: "They are French writers! There are neither historical circumstances, nor anything. They made their choices. They chose French." Khaoula was terribly upset, for she adores Kateb Yacine. She was frightened by such intolerance, straight out of a story book. She was in a study room duplicating a passage on virginity from a book.

In study halls and libraries there are mostly girls and very few boys. It is again a question of dialogue, in other words, a dialogue which has not yet found its own language. But finding the words is another story since "Literature cannot be discussed without discussing society," says Hocine. It is both a society which has not yet define itself and unsteady social sciences teasing all the authorities. There are scattered publications published by the OPU or at the author's expense. If you go to the duplicating room, you will also find ten-year old duplicated lecture notes. Djamel told me: "Some people stop as soon as they get their state doctorate; references then date back to the 40's, no more!" No more? Then what type of knowledge is taught? A professor told me: "The question rather is to determine if there really is knowledge; if the teacher imparts knowledge; and, finally, who controls the scientific validity of this knowledge." Let us not mention education, it risks spreading confusion.

Let us talk about the professors. One of them believes that a teacher should be judged on his scientific contribution; "on his writings," he specifies, "and very few of us write." And yet, continues our friend, "And yet, only the writings remain." Then? What knowledge?

Some will say that there are no social standard for the scientific validation of knowledge. Others mention "the 70 percent illiterates," the interpenetration of the sciences, the resurgence of theology as a replacement for the scientific mind, and, above all else, the trait everyone condemns without always driving it away, complaisance. Yet, some carry satchel like sacred objects, from library to library, giving their every moments to the students, always working on an article, some research, or a thesis. They are the pride of our universities, those people for whom the times are even more difficult.

Hamid is associate teacher in economics; he is a very good and patient teacher. He complains that he is unable to set up a coherent program since "2-month long semesters yield 4-year degrees." Hamid wonders if it is not due to the general state of society. It is possible, but in any case, it is society which determines who is allowed or not allowed into the university.

It is a known fact that the degree and not knowledge has become the only criterion of social valorization. A law student told me: "It can be utterly useless to be 18 years old and at the head of your graduating class. If someone has many contacts and only a 9.75 point average, he will hand up with a better job and a better salary." Understood! There is therefore no need to kill oneself working; barely reaching a 10 point average "taking things easy" is enough. And since society only validates the piece of paper, "Some get their degree by cheating," a teacher told me.

A career student told me that his "professor" had been a notorious cribber as a student and, in order not to change his major, he had plagiarized about 50 pages from a book for his thesis requirements. It is a tall tale, but I heard worse. One should not be surprised, after such stories, that students and teachers feel at loose ends. What respect? For what knowledge? To be sure, there are those who are good at themes, who are hard workers and bookworms, "But it is more a question of individual than of social fortitude."

University and society are once again back to back, one questioning the other until there is a break and a partitioning. How to proceed if society, the productive sector, does not order research from the university?

"Why engage in scientific research since society does not recognize it and does not validate it," at least in practice, asks a researcher.

How can a professor still justify his insistent request that his students begin their work with the first sentence of the "Fatiha." What justification is there when some of the professors spend entire nights preparing their courses while others make money, or flatly change careers, or hold too many offices? How come, questions Walid, that in 20 years there has not been an Algerian school of development in neither economics, law or sociology? Walid will willingly mention the Latin American school. And if we are only discussing the understanding of reality and cumulative knowledge, how does one explain that the social sciences have lost their bearing to such an extent that they no longer recognize their subject matter? And yet, a certain man was saying about that very subject "It is... indeed... the subject matter which determines the method."

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EGYPT

## PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY, OPPOSITION ROLE DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 23 Jan 86 p 6

[Commentary by Dr 'Ala'-al-Din Hilal]

[Text] One must pause a long time over President Husni Mubarak's statement last week to the magazine AL-MUSAWWAR, dated 17 January, sort out the inevitable signs, and try to discover the motives, purposes, and reasons that led to it and the results that spring from it. All this is done from the premise of eagerness for democratic development and the continuation and development of partisan political pursuits.

### Democracy and the Future

Without getting into theoretical abstracts on the importance of democracy as the ideal or as a system of government, with its commitment to respect for the role of the individual and his participation in determining the affairs of his homeland, lessons in the context of Egyptian development since 1952, a number of lessons have become clear.

The significance of the first lesson is that opening the doors and windows of dialogue on national and pan-Arab issues is the best way to arrive at a formal national agreement or a common area of understanding.

The second lesson is that this arrangement permits the holders of various opinions and dissimilar views on the nature of Egypt's future to express what they believe to appeal to the citizenry through books, newspapers, and magazines.

### The Third Lesson

This system permits exposure of breaches in implementation and calls the attention of the citizens to corruption and deviation. It warns of sources of danger and puts all those engaged in public life under the microscope of public opinion.

Finally, this system sets down guarantees to protect, constitutionally and legally, the rights of the individual and to prevent them from being violated and disregarded.

The democratic process then, aside from the loftiness of its concept, is indispensable for safeguarding peaceful development, searching for solutions to our problems, and for the sound application of those solutions.

### Democracy in Action

One of the main points of the president's speech was his criticism of many of the political practices engaged in by the opposition parties and newspapers. He considers them a threat to democracy and thinks the parties are concerned with trading accusations, with political agitation, and with actions of retaliation and revenge. This represents a threat to the future of democratic development, and there is a limit to what the public and the administration can bear with patience.

What is certain is that there is public sentiment in the country that the partisan experience is in difficulty and that the effectiveness of the political parties and their capabilities for influence are limited. The future's horizons appear doubtful and unclear.

One manifestation of this is something Professor Lutfi al-Khuli wrote in the newspaper AL-AHRAM about the political dryness of the parties, and what the monthly magazine AL-MAWQIF AL-ARABI published about the parties, and the articles of Dr Ihab Salam in the magazine AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI.

Another manifestation of this is the excitement which accompanied the debate over the proposal for establishing a national front, whether on the part of supporters or the opposition. In no time the matter proceeded from thinking of the pros and cons of having one to the exchange of accusations. At times this came to bottomless depths, with accusations exchanged in cooperation with the investigations apparatus. Unfortunately these accusations were exchanged between adherents to a single political orientation!

### In the Crisis of Practice

Without forgetting the magnitude of the accomplishment that has been achieved and extent of the general freedoms that the press exercises, there are problems that we must face and deal with in a democratic manner, and here are some of them:

-- There is the matter of the outpouring of information, particularly on issues that touch public opinion, and the tumult and confusion that accompanied incidents like the seizure of the Egyptian aircraft that was heading for Tunis and the incident of the Malta airport. This was related to a lack of information available to the people.



-- There is the matter of the absence of the political existence of the National Party as a political force in the street and the absence of an overwhelming majority party that has associations and effects for the sum total of political life.

-- There are limits on the movement of political parties and their ability to meet and organize.

-- There are political currents that are not themselves actually found in the existing parties.

-- There are currents in most of the parties that in fact do not believe in democracy, but regard the present situation as a transitory stage of restoring political balances. There are some who were brought up and received their political training in the school of the single organization, and there are elements of deviation and corruption which see free public opinion as a danger to their interests. There are also adventurous political elements that are moving toward a confrontation with the government, bent on inciting the people.

What Shall We Do?

All these movements are present, and the continuation of democratic development, including open dialogue, is what strengthens them and shows where each movement stands.

But democratic development needs a political climate. Democracy does not flourish in a few moments of fits and excitement, and does not at all engage in the exchange of charges and mistrust of each of the other factions. Such an atmosphere is a prelude to breakdown of dialogue and opening the door to the use of violence and domination by the most powerful faction.

It is not reasonable that all our political and partisan organizations stand by, watching the beginning of polarization without doing anything.

What do we want to explore? First, we want to arrive at an objective honest assessment of the relations among the parties. This assessment cannot be reached without having knowledge of all the statements and information on these relations. Secondly, we want to explore the common area or the patch of land on which all the forces can deal with each other. We will constantly endeavor to enlarge this patch.

Why doesn't one of our scientific, research, or university facilities undertake to conduct a closed-door symposium to assess the political practices in our country, to be participated in by representatives of the parties and several experts.

Is it not strange that we hold symposia to study all kinds of subjects, including insects and worms, but we do not hold a symposium to study our political future?

And is it not strange that the newspaper AL-AHRAM has given over two pages per week to the pan-Arab dialogue? Is one of our national newspapers unable to produce the national dialogue?

We need a national dialogue.

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1 April 1986

EGYPT

## LEADING ISLAMIC SPOKESMAN DESCRIBES RIFT WITH WAFD PARTY

Kuwait AL-MUJTAMA' in Arabic 10 Dec 85 pp 22-24

[Interview with Deputy Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il: "Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il Relates His Experience with the New Wafd Party to AL-MUJTAMA'"]

[Text] Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il, a prominent deputy in the Egyptian People's Assembly, won in the May 1984 elections under one of the lists of the New Wafd Party, which he had joined as a result of the Egyptian law on elections.

When the issue of Islamic law was raised in the party, Shaykh Salah had a position.

In this conversation, Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il presents his view on how his relationship with the New Wafd Party has developed.

We asked the sheikh, "In some papers we have read what you have written in response to the chairman of the Wafd Party. What is the truth of what is now being written regarding the two of you? What prompted you to answer?"

[Answer] On Friday 15 November 1985 the special issue of AL-WAFD newspaper came out, on the occasion of the celebration of the holiday of the national holy war, and it was stated, with respect to me, in the words of Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, in exactly these words, "In response to those slanderers, the Wafd totally agrees that Islamic law should be the main and fundamental source of Egyptian legislation and considers it necessary that all the existing legislation be purified of all flaws which are in violation of the provisions of Islamic law.

"The Wafd had previously declared as much in its program, which was published, and I personally have declared it a number of times, repeatedly, in my various speeches and statements, the most recent of which was in the People's Assembly itself, at the symposium held by the assembly's religious affairs committee a few months ago. What I said was published in the papers at the time. Nonetheless, there are people whose morals permit them, in spite of the white turban on their heads, to claim untruthfully and slanderously that the Wafd and Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din are not in agreement with the

application of the provisions of Islamic law." Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din's statement as published in this issue then ended.

#### Where Are the Obvious Facts?

Shaykh Salah continued his statement by saying, "I had expected that Mr Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din would mention the obvious facts, which he tried to cover up with the statement he made, and I will mention them here:

"1. If Mr Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din had really wanted Islamic law, why did he terminate me from the Wafd, its bodies and all its formations because of my demand for Islamic law?

"2. Why did Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din slanderously utter lies and say, untruthfully and slanderously, that I had resigned? I challenge him to produce my resignation and reproduce it on the pages of his newspaper, if he is truthful. Otherwise he will be the slanderer who speaks untruthfully and slanderously."

[Question] A specific event or story went with the experience of your eminence's termination from the Wafd Party. Could we review it again, although a period of time has elapsed since it happened?

[Answer] I request the testimony of the higher body of the Wafd Party. Have they read any resignation that I submitted, or was my termination which they approved of covered up, although the resignation was accepted on the basis of a declaration I presented at a general conference, stating "If party affiliation turns into an obstacle along the road of Islamic action, I will shed the garment of party activity?"

[Question] Now, as your eminence is continuing your appeal in isolation from party affiliation, what do the Wafd Party and its chairman Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din want from your eminence, on the basis of this attack which is being constantly repeated on the pages of the party newspaper?

[Answer] Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din wanted me to shed the garment of Islam, not the garment of party activity. He failed to see that the pharaoh's magicians removed the garment of life itself when that was opposed to the garment of faith. They told the despot, "We will not influence you with respect to the signs we have received and those we have brought forth. Proceed with what you are carrying out, but put an end to this worldly life."

[Question] Did the New Wafd Party's higher board think of hearing the absent party's opinion before ruling on the matter of the alleged resignation?

[Answer] I said that they wanted to remove me for something which was in Jacob's spirit, in effect a means by which they made their way to success for the party in the parliamentary elections. When the situation was over, there was no longer any need for them to hear the views of any party, even if he was involved in the situation himself. Moreover, Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din casts slander, untruthfulness and calumny on me in a process regarding which I might mention the Arab proverb which says "It threw its ailment at me and came down with tuberculosis."

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din's dictatorial nature is no longer a matter of doubt, now that I have closely watched its claws. He insisted on heading up the higher board with respect to my case involving him for this purpose, which was to terminate me on grounds that I had resigned. He had previously insisted on heading up the higher board concerning the issue of his brother Yasan Siraj-al-Din, until the resolution terminating him was issued. If the termination of his brother was invalid, why did he insist on it? If it was valid, why did he turn away from it? Isn't this incompetence?

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din later personally insisted that he resign from the Wafd Party when the Wafd's parliamentary board, for the reasons it considered proper, was adamant on refusing to go to the republican palace at the conclusion of the seventh session of the current assembly. Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din contacted them by telephone as they came together in the People's Assembly and asked them to go to the republican palace. They unanimously agreed to refuse, and he had to yield to the majority view, but he cannot bear opposing views, so resigned from the party chairmanship.

[Question] It has been said repeatedly that your eminence's suspension of your membership in the Wafd Party was due to your objection to the party chairman's choice of Counsellor Mumtaz Nassar as leader of the Wafdist opposition.

[Answer] Another mistake he makes is that he imputes things to me that do not occur to me, since he and others interpret my suspension of membership as a protest against his choice of Mr Mumtaz Nassar as leader of the Wafdist opposition. There is no doubt that that interpretation is a slanderous calumny and great untruth, since I have told him that a change in individuals is something that enters into all positions and it does not concern me, because I am working for Islam, whether I am in the forefront or the rear. However, I just wonder: did the assignment of the leadership of the opposition to the new leader come as a change in individuals, with the program I am calling for night and day, which is application of Islamic law, to be retained, or did it come about as a change in individuals because he was advocating this program? When I did not get a response, though insisting, I suspended my membership in order to see my way and I broadcast the position on the most extensive scale in order to expose some people who had put Islam in the program but had ignored it in actual practice. This position was greeted by a laudable reaction. Mr Mumtaz Nassar declared that he would demand the application of Islamic law in the People's Assembly at the start of the first session. I gave God prayers of thanks and said, praise be to God, this is an auspicious end to the suspension of the membership. I wrote to Mr Mumtaz Nassar, pledging allegiance to him as an opposition leader in the light of the statement he made, and I also broadcast word that I was abandoning the suspension of membership. The Al-WAFD newspaper itself published [it], everything ended and things resumed their course. In my mind I repeat the statement of my glorious lord, "Every item of news has a final destination, and you will become aware."

Insistence on Error: Islam Is Sacrifice

In spite of that, the chairman of the Wafd Party continued to make the accusation in my regard that what had aroused my anger was the issue of the

leadership of the opposition. After the declaration Mumtaz Nassar made, that he would demand the application of Islamic law, Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, chairman of the People's Assembly, proceeded to agree to abandon the achievements of the previous assembly, that is, complete works of Islamic legislation over which specialized committees had worked late into the night and which the Academy of Islamic Research in al-Azhar had approved and the court of cassation had approved. The former assembly, on 1 July 1982, submitted it to the committee on constitutional legislative affairs in the People's Assembly to complete the procedures for issuing it. Yes, he agreed to abandon this great achievement for the allegation he made regarding the purification of the laws currently in effect of everything that violated Islamic law, so that the assembly could resume a new course. Then the decree on execution lapsed with the conclusion of the previous session and we went back to zero on the subject of Islamic law, the hope of millions inside and outside Egypt, so that Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din would allege what he is alleging and casting the barbs he wants.

#### They Claim Partiality toward Islam and Assail Its Proponents

[Question] If Islamic law means deliverance from the distortions, corruption, bribes and thievery that surround us now, why don't all Egypt's political parties and members of parliament unite to perform this lofty divine act?

[Answer] How could that happen, my brother? Every party is going after a non-Islamic goal. The Wafd had previously stabbed me in the back while I was defending God's law at the People's Assembly in February 1985, and they agreed to postpone submission of the issue of Islamic law to May 1985. Mumtaz Nassar declared that I no longer represented anything but myself after the higher board of the New Wafd Party and the leader of the opposition on it had agreed to accept my resignation (though he knows that I did not submit it!). What slander or fraud is this?

#### Relevant Questions

Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il added, "Again, let me tell the chairman of the Wafd and the leader of the opposition this: Where is this resignation, if you are telling the truth? You have failed to present it. Who is uttering lies, untruths and falsehoods? How have you become so far removed from my voice, while I am demanding that the word of millions inside and outside Egypt be proclaimed on high? How have you alleged that I represent only myself? Have you lost sight of what the constitution says, to the effect that a People's Assembly member is elected by his district and represents all the people in the legislative power? The Wafd Party has been cowardly in the face of public opinion, shields itself by saying that I resigned and has not dared to declare its position on Islamic law."

[Question] Your eminence the sheikh, do you regret having left the Wafd Party, whether as the result of the alleged resignation or termination?

[Answer] You should know that I am happy at leaving by being terminated from the Wafd because of my adherence to its program and statements with respect

to Islam. My whole fault is that I considered that the leadership of the Wafd was acting as it spoke. Here in reality its position reminds me of the statement of my glorious lord, "You who believe, have you not spoken as you have acted? It has become more loathsome to God that you say what you do not do."

[Question] What harm would it do the New Wafd Party if your eminence spoke in its behalf regarding matters of Islam and Islamic legislation?

[Answer] This is something which has its significance and the circumstantial evidence on the answers to it is clear. However, I will mention a small incident but leave it up to you to judge and answer this question: if we accept, for the sake of argument, that Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din wants Islamic law, in the name of the New Wafd Party, why did they send Mr Mumtaz Nassar, the leader of the Wafdist opposition who wants Islamic law, after me, while the higher board of the Wafd Party recessed after a meeting which lasted several hours so that I could catch the plane traveling to Khartoum in response to an invitation to take part in the occasion of the passage of a year since the application of Islamic law in the Sudan? Mumtaz Nassar caught up with me while I was still in the party headquarters in the Pyramids being detained for a while by a passing discussion with a friend, and Mr Mumtaz Nassar told me, "I caught up with you to inform you of the higher board's decision that you are not to talk in the name of the Wafd about Islamic law in the Sudan."

I said, as I swallowed my amazement, that I had been invited to the Sudan because I was a religious scholar and proponent of Islam, not because I was a Wafdist. I was amazed that there was a difference between the declaration the party had made on its opinion about Islam in its program and its positions on Islam.

[Question] Why wasn't there a clear, frank confrontation between your eminence and the leaders of the Wafd Party on the demand for Islamic law?

[Answer] A confrontation took place and I felt that sincerity about my commitment to the appeal for Islamic law would certainly some day subject me to the fate with which my relationship with the Wafd concluded. Here I request Mumtaz Nassar and 'Ilwi Hafiz to vouch that I asked Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, in the sight and hearing of the parliamentary board, that the Wafd Party act in demanding the application of Islamic law in the People's Assembly. The chairman of the Wafd said excitedly "The Wafd Party will not act in demanding the application of Islamic law and the party will not let you yourself act in demanding Islamic law in the People's Assembly, because you are the member of the three boards, the founding, the parliamentary and the higher boards, and your action will be counted against the party."

If I were fair, I would consider such action to be counted in the party's favor, not against it, and I left the meeting scarcely believing that my ears had heard these words which the chairman of the Wafd had constantly held within himself as I had gone about the governorates of Egypt calling for the election of the Wafd, with which we had reached agreement on the subject of Islam. They cheated God and the devout, and deceived only themselves and their feelings.

I ask Mr Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din:

If Islamic law was a demand of the Wafd's, why was the party's agency assigned to Dr Wahid Ra'fat, who defends secularism, that is, the separation of religion and state, makes the accusation against Islam that rulers rule by divine right on the basis of it, and rejects religious government, while none of what Dr Wahid Ra'fat alleges is part of Islam? Moreover, Wahid Ra'fat's writings in the newspaper AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT state that he does not make accusations against Islamic law but that as far as the Wafd goes that in its view is a marginal issue, and he attacks the Moslem Brothers in his writings night and day.

[Question] What is the masses' position regarding your eminence's termination from the New Wafd Party?

[Answer] After he had terminated me from the Wafd, Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din was taken by surprise everywhere he went in the governorates of Egypt in being held strictly to account by the masses. He lost his chance and proceeded to clothe himself in the garb of the appeal to Islam. That is something which has gladdened me greatly, but he clothes himself in Islam in order to cast blame at its advocates, make the statements he has about me, and consider that the honor of the white turban on my head is beyond me, although he entertains no appreciation for it or awe of it!

He imagines that skill in glorifying Sa'd Zaghlul and Mustafa al-Nahhas (who have total allegiance, pride, veneration and proper appeals from us) will enable him to dispense with the issues which preoccupy the intelligent Moslem Egyptian people, foremost among them the application of Islamic law. Regarding the issue of Islam, does he consider that it is enough for him that the party should talk and consider or that the party should give agreement, while he eliminates me because I go beyond opinions and agreement to making the demand?

However, what is more splendid than the statement of almighty God: "And some men there are whose statements regarding worldly life please you; they call on God to witness what is in their hearts, yet are the most intractable of adversaries, and when they turn their back hasten about on earth, working corruption in it and destroying the tillage and the stock. God does not love corruption and if they are told, Put your trust in God, vainglory seizes them in their sin. So hell shall be enough for them, and what a wretched resting place it is." In any event, I give thanks to almighty God that his quest for protection today by declaring his position on the application of Islamic law has come about as a reaction to the disputes he has contrived with me. Let us put something in our hearts for a day when what is in people's hearts may occur, and if the reaction is something that disturbs me, I have been given the opportunity to adopt the statement by almighty God: "And whosoever helps himself after he has been wronged -- against them there is no way; rather, the way is open only to those who are tyrannical with people and unrightfully commit oppression on earth. Theirs will be a painful torment." That is a saying of almighty God's.

AL-MUJTAMA': We thank His Eminence Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il and call on glorious God to give the Moslems success in that which will satisfy him. To another meeting, and peace and may God's mercy and blessings be with you.



EGYPT

RESULTS OF STUDENT ELECTIONS, SUCCESS OF ISLAMIC ELECTIONS REVIEWED

Kuwait AL-MUJTAMA' in Arabic 7 Jan 86 pp 24, 25

[Article: "The Islamic Societies in Egypt's Universities Are Victorious in the Student Federation Elections"]

[Text] In spite of all the obstacles which have been placed in front of the student movement that articulates the Islamic approach in the universities in Egypt, and in spite of the acts of interference by the party, security and university administration, the members of the Islamic groups nonetheless were victorious in the elections held in the faculties last November to choose students' representatives for the student federations in various areas of the republic. The good results in most universities provoked amazement and astonishment on the part of some officials, to the point where the secretary general of the ruling National Party admitted the party's defeat in these elections and told the secretary of the Cairo University student federation, who is a prominent member of the Islamic societies, "We have done much this year, but your organization was better."

There is no doubt that the Islamic group youths' acquisition of student federation seats in the various faculties is not just expressive of the genuine nature this current possesses and its ability to feel the pulse of the nation and articulate it as far as various positions are concerned -- it is also expressive of the extent of the acceptance and interaction it has enjoyed in university youth circles, since it is a true representative of the conscience of the young people in Egypt. This has come about in spite of the severity of the restrictions imposed on Islamic action in general within the universities, in particular the universities of Cairo, which has afflicted the students' overall action with something resembling total paralysis, not to speak of the party activities the movement is supporting.

What Was New This Year

What was new in the elections this year is that the Islamic groups were more organized and clear in declaring themselves, although they were not allowed to declare their names in an official manner. The second thing is the attempt by the National Democratic Party, the government's party, directly to intervene on behalf of some students belonging to the party. Yusuf Dali,

secretary general of the party, called on the Cairo University students belonging to the party, who are small in number and have no popular following, to meet in the party headquarters in Cairo to plan for the university student federation elections; in spite of that it won only the federation secretariat at Hilwan University by a margin of just one vote over the candidate of the Islamic group! The third thing regarding the elections this year is the small number of students whom the administration had eliminated from candidacy relative to previous years, especially in Cairo University. That does not prevent one from saying, for instance, that the elections in al-Minya University were suspended by a judiciary verdict as a result of the elimination of large groups of candidates in the framework of the four classes in approximately all faculties. The fourth thing regarding the elections this year is the intensification of the competition among the various student orientations as compared with previous years. In addition to this, the phenomenon of the negative attitude of a large proportion of the students continued, as a result of which the elections were cancelled in some faculties or some classes in them, due to the failure to meet a quorum of 50 percent the first time then 20 percent after that so that the election would be valid.

#### The Cairo University Results

In Cairo there are four universities, Cairo, al-Azhar, 'Ayn Shams then Hilwan. Cairo University has 26 faculties. The members of the Islamic groups ran as candidates in 19 and won in 12, Medicine, Engineering and Pharmacy, faculties which have obvious activity on the part of the Islamic current, as well as the Media, Science, Law, Dar ul-'Ulum and Veterinary Medicine Faculties, then the faculties of Education, Agriculture and Engineering in al-Fayyum Governorate and Law in Bani Suwayf, which are all subordinate to Cairo University. The Islamic groups nominated the student 'Isam Sultan, who is assistant secretary of the Law Faculty federation of students, and he won the secretariat of the Cairo University Students' Federation by a majority of 35 votes against 17 for the government candidate. The student Husayn Zayid, assistant secretary of the federation of students of the Qasr al-'Ayni Medical Faculty, won the position of assistant secretary of the university federation by a majority of 37 votes against 15 for the ruling party.

#### 'Ayn Shams University

At 'Ayn Shams University, which has just 11 faculties and where the Islamic tendency is weak, young people in the Islamic groups won in the Faculty of Medicine and the Faculty of Engineering and won a seat in the Faculty of Sciences. That is, they received just five out of 22 votes. However, in the university federation elections, the Islamic group obtained 16 votes, the ruling party just five votes and the left one vote! The student Hani Zaghlul, a prominent member of the Islamic groups, won the chairmanship of 'Ayn Shams University's student federation in spite of the weakness of the Islamic movement in 'Ayn Shams University, as noted. That is clear proof of the extent of the approval the Islamic groups enjoy among young people in the universities in Egypt.

## Al-Azhar University

Al-Azhar University has about 40 faculties. Elections were held in about 31, and six students competed for the federation chairmanship, one of them the Islamic group's representative and another a representative of the government who was chairman of the al-Azhar University students' federation last year. He had poor status among his student colleagues since he defended the student list which had been rejected by the broad base of the students and also defended the university guard. He called on the students at their conference to concern themselves only with getting an education, and not to enter into other activities! The student Muhammad al-Baltaji, who is a prominent member of the Islamic groups, won the secretariat of the al-Azhar University students' union by a majority of 25 votes against the 13 the government candidate obtained, and the other candidates divided the remaining votes among themselves.

## Hilwan University

In Hilwan University, there are 18 faculties. The Islamic groups there are considered somewhat weak. They ran as candidates in seven faculties. Blatant fraud occurred in one of them. They won in three faculties (Foreign Trade, Applied Arts and Education); while winning in three of the 18 faculties, they lost the federation secretariat by a margin of one vote. The group's candidate won 14 votes, while the government's candidate won by a margin of one, or 15 votes.

## A Different Story from Alexandria University

The story from Alexandria University is different! The Islamic groups won almost all the seats in the faculties and, as a consequence, the secretariat of the federation of university students. The second-year Engineering Faculty student Akram Zuhayri won the latter and Ashraf Fidali, a student in medicine, won the assistant secretariat. At the University of Alexandria competition was totally lacking, since the Islamic groups won the confidence of the students without any contest. Therefore, for example, they won all the seats in the Faculties of Medicine, Engineering, Pharmacy and Law and the majority of seats in the Faculty of Education, Commerce and Dentistry. They also won in the Faculty of Science and Agriculture, in spite of some acts of provocation committed by National Party representatives in the university.

## The Remaining Universities

The same was the case in al-Mansurah University, where the Islamic groups won the majority of seats to the faculty federations, the secretariat of the university and also the assistant secretariat. At al-Zaqaziq university, the government candidate got 13 votes and the same, 13, went to the Islamic groups' candidate. When the voting was run a second time, the administration summoned a student who had the right to vote; when he returned he put a blank piece of paper in the place of his vote and refused to give it to the government candidate. Thus the government candidate won by a majority of one vote against the Islamic group's candidate. At the Suez Canal University,

the number of faculties totals nine; the Islamic groups won in four of them and won the assistant secretary for the university as a whole. At the University of al-Minufiyah, a climate of severe uneasiness prevailed among the students, in view of the large numbers belonging to the Islamic groups who were stricken from the nomination lists. This prompted the students to file suit against the administration for striking out these candidates. The strange thing is that the administration struck out many first-year faculty candidates on grounds that they had not engaged in student activity, although the university year begins only less than a month before the elections. It is not reasonable, for example, that a student prove that he was engaged in activity at the secondary level. The issue of cancellation also caused the postponement of the al-Minya University elections to an unspecified time. The administration struck out large numbers of candidate students, and after a case was filed against the university administration, one of the people involved in legal affairs at the university declared that his administration had found no convincing cause to answer the students' complaint, and a lawyer in the administration swore not to conduct litigation out of his conviction in the validity of the students' complaint, although he was a prominent member of the government party.

At Tanta University, the administration used police terror to prevent many students from entering the elections and it directed threats at their families for agreeing to their children's nomination to the student federations in the university. Many people in fact submitted to the threats, especially since it was the security agencies which had carried out this task.

At the University of Asyut, the Islamic groups won in spite of direct interference in the form of cancellation and fraud on behalf of the government candidates. The group got the majority of the faculties' seats and also won the federation secretariat and the assistant secretariat for the university as a whole; this in itself is a strong indication of the magnitude of the Islamic current within the university.

In conclusion, we can say that in spite of the weak character of the authorities assigned to these federations as a result of the student bill limiting student activity (the 1979 bill), which was issued a short time before the killing of al-Sadat and puts decisions in the hands of faculty professors, not students, the Islamic groups decided to enter these federations as one way in which the students could obtain the freedoms and rights the 1976 bill stipulated for them by demanding that the responsible bodies yield to the students' desire for a change in the bill. We hope the administration will agree to this, to support genuine student activity and out of respect for the decisions of the broad base which has called for the change in the bill and held a number of conferences for that last year. Will the officials commit themselves to respecting the will of the students?

11887  
CSO: 4504/184

1 April 1986

EGYPT

## PROBLEM OF GOVERNMENT INADEQUACIES REVIEWED

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 4 Feb 86 p 1

/Article by 'Adil Husayn: "Democracy Is Not the Cause of the Crisis: Our Crisis lies in Corruption and the Weakness of the Government"/

/Text/ Anyone reading the official papers in the past 10 days would imagine that the sole or major dispute between the government and the opposition revolves about whether Dr 'Ali Lutfi is sick or not. This is something which has provoked our amazement, without an argument, because the real disputes are broader and more important than that.

We admit at the outset that we erroneously published something from which it could be inferred that the prime minister is not actually suffering from an illness, but conversely the official papers declared that Dr 'Ali Lutfi has been suffering from influenza (and not a (fadrufi) slippage); that is, the error is mutual. If it is possible to justify our error by a lack of information (for which we can be pardoned), what the official papers published unfortunately cannot be explained except as blatant and deliberate lying on their part.

In any case, the limited mistake we succumbed to does not rule it out that the essence of what we published is correct. The problems the prime minister is facing within his cabinet are real ones and lead to pitfalls in practice. These problems are totally understandable in terms of their origins and root causes. The cabinet is for the most part made up of bureaucrats and technicians who reached their positions through regular promotion up the employment ladder, and mentality which recognizes nothing but seniority as a means of promotion prevails in such cabinets. The fact is that Dr 'Ali Lutfi reached the position of the premiership by means other than this ladder, without having a distinction in leadership style or a political history which would justify going beyond the rule. The fact also is that he headed the previous cabinet which worked under the premiership of someone besides himself and he did not draw up his own team, one suited to his own situation and circumstances. How can we be amazed, then, if a dispute and pitfalls in cooperation should break out?

AL-SHA'B has followed up on the news of the rift within the cabinet to the appropriate extent, without exaggeration. This extent was not defined by our effort to "promote the newspaper;" rather, our belief that the difficult challenges facing our nation required a devout, aware and coherent cabinet formation and not a fragile, internally contradictory formation drove us to it. What we published on the matter reflected a high sense of responsibility, and it was not by way of manipulation and provocation.

I wrote the above lines Sunday morning, then heard President Mubarak's speech; we have considered it appropriate that I should retain what I wrote. However, I had to proceed in a manner which was different from what I had intended.

Mr President: we had imagined that we had transcended the crisis your conversation with AL-MUSAWWAR had stirred up. We had believed that what the opposition newspapers had stated had helped reveal the sorrow, and we had believed that what Mr Makram Muhammad Ahmad (last Thursday) and Mr Salah Muntasar (UKTUBAR) had written was a sign of a positive effort to contain the crisis on the part of intelligent voices in the National Party.

We had imagined that, but your speech proved that the crisis is more serious and deeper than what we had imagined, especially in light of the use of the expressions "a few" people who "advocated provocation" and "it will not have mercy." These expressions, in people's minds, are connected to hateful memories which we hope God will not bring back to you and us.

Mr President, the opposition forces cannot be contemptuously described as a mere minority, unless the discussion concerns the leaders speaking in the name of this opposition. These leaders are indeed, of necessity, few in number, as they are in any society. However, one of these leaders can be reckoned in the thousands. These leaders are a proper, intensified expression of the view of broad segments of the nation, and I hope that you are not deceived by the results of the elections, the circumstances of the law on which, and the fraud that took place in which, we all know.

With respect to the Labor Party, specifically, we are fully aware of the foreign plots against Egypt. Egypt, by virtue of geography and history, is the strategic heart of the Arab nation. Therefore, concentrating on striking at Egypt is a constant policy of foreign movements hostile to the Islamic Arab region.

In accordance with this notion, we opposed the policy on whose basis the previous president proceeded. We regained Sinai, which is fine (although it is demilitarized), but that was in exchange for an embargo on supplies of weapons to us and in exchange for an economy which our enemies drew up knowingly, since an economy which is not balanced and is swamped with debts cannot feed us or supply us with our basic needs. In brief, the price for Sinai was the realization of our enemies' strategic goal, which was to isolate Egypt from its Arab brothers and keep it weak and lowly.

We would like it to be clear that our enemies will resist any attempt on our part to reform our situation. The security of the Zionists and the security of American interests will be stabilized only if Egypt is weak and isolated.

Mr President, we are aware of all this, and realize that you are a person who is striving for reform. You are a person who is striving to break our isolation from the Arab nation. You are striving to reform the economic and social situation and fight corruption. Therefore, their irritation with you has started to become intense and increase. We have written that and given warning.

Our positions always arise from our submission to God and total devotion to our nation. It is not true that discussion of public affairs can take place only at a whisper: That is something which officials who are not familiar with the nature of political action state. Their task is restricted to submitting "cold" memoranda to all presidents and rulers.

True public action is something resembling war. It entails material preparations and there are arrangements and planning. However, it also entails faith, enthusiasm and a high moral spirit. Young people's action, in the political process, assumes forms which are of necessity different from the action of old people, but it is the duty of people with expertise to act as guides and advisors alongside the young people, and it is in the interest of the nation that its generations become integrated, not mutually hostile.

We have acted in the past in accordance with this notion, in the belief that all this would help sincere efforts aimed at resisting foreign pressures.

We have used the various resources of democratic expression to stand up to foreign conspiracies, not to take part in them. May God be tolerant with you, Mr President.

We would like to stress, in conclusion, that our above statement does not mean that we do not succumb to mistakes in the course of the exercise of democracy. Indeed, we issued our article with an admission to this effect. However, what we mean is that the errors of officials in the government and their media are greater and more serious, even if the hypocritical enemies of democracy allege otherwise.

Let us refer to a final example. When it is published, in the words of the prime minister (who is in the hospital), that the next budget will not include an increase in taxes or prices, one can only wonder, is that an insistence on the officials' part in losing people's confidence in the truth of what they say? Glorious God! You have not said with total awareness what you will not do?

Prices are rising every day and they will rise with the crisis in oil revenues and so forth. If we unmask the deception and demand a brave, integrated national confrontation, will we be among those who seek provocation?

Mr President, we are not among those who publish doubts and threaten stability and democracy.



/Accompanying cartoon/ /Figure on right/ An initiative to eliminate international terrorism.

/Figure in center, pointing to figure on left, labelled "security"/ Fine, what about him, Mr. President?

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EGYPT

OPPOSITION JOURNAL OBJECTS TO GOVERNMENT POLICIES

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 21 Jan 86 pp 1, 9

/Article by 'Adil Husayn: "A Frank Difference with President Mubarak--Lest the September Coup Repeat Itself"/

/Text/ President Mubarak differs with us, and we differ with him too. We must not hide this or ignore it, especially when it is apparent from his recent conversation in AL-MUSAWWAR that the situation has reached the point of severe crisis.

What, however, do we differ over? Have we indeed reached the point of severe crisis? Before answering, we will venture to record that the editor in chief of AL-MUSAWWAR inflated the various aspects of the difference and distorted its features; therefore, what is required is a serious, responsible pause for reflection which will accurately define the issues and the magnitude of the dispute, lest September repeat itself or something worse than September happens, without an acceptable justification from God and history.

If the difference between us and the president were as radical and serious as was apparent in the formation of the questions and titles, war between the government and the other national forces would then be justified, and welcome in this case, since we are not people who buy our personal peace by abandoning our principles. Let us say that nothing will strike us except what God has foreordained for us. However, if the dispute is not so deep, it becomes idiocy for a war to arise which inflicts losses on all parties just because we have shrunk from understanding one another.

The president wonders, how long can Egypt endure the folly of the opposition parties? We in turn are anxious about what is happening in our country and wonder, how long can Egypt endure the government's present policies? It astonishes us that the president did not refer to this question of ours when he brought up the first question about the folly of the opposition. President Mubarak says that the current practices might lead to an alternative which though it is in the realm of the unknown (as he expresses it), is "frightening and dangerous". We agree totally about the importance of this warning, but we do not consider it directed only at us.

## A New Stage Has Begun

We supported Husni Mubarak for the presidency as soon as al-Sadat was assassinated, and time has proved the validity of this position. The truth is that during the first years of his regime he was able to avoid all the evils in which the murdered president became enmired, which led to such general loathing of him that the people unanimously avoided participating in his funeral or expressing grief over him, though this violated the traditions and common custom of the Egyptians.

We say that President Mubarak enjoyed a good name by distancing himself from areas of doubt, frightening connections with business circles and manifestations of pomp. We testified that he retained all these advantages and affirmed them after he reached the position of the presidency. He differed also with the previous president when he ended the "position" of the first lady, with all the loathesome memories and acts of interference that represented. President Mubarak also desisted from uttering provocative, irresponsible political statements and Perez, for example, or Shamir or Reagan no longer are his "dear friend," with or without cause. In his domestic relations, we can testify that the president has been chaste of tongue with his adversaries and people who differ with him, and his steps to end the effects of the September onslaught and expand the scope of democratic expression have been unremitting.

There is no doubt that this has all helped soothe the pains, and thanks to that Egypt has been able to quiet down for a number of years and catch its breath after a period of breakdowns and states of violent confusion. However, these years have elapsed and their purposes have been fulfilled. The effect and the role of the anesthetic have ended, and it is no longer suitable to postpone confronting the diseases at their roots.

It seems, from the apparent form of the discussion, that the president agrees with us over this diagnosis. His statement before the People's and Consultative Assembly (13 November) refers to this, as part of what he called the great awakening, and he stressed his concern over the interests of people with limited incomes in discussing subsidies and economic policies in his conversation with AL-MUSAWWAR. The president also stressed his concern for the distinctive role of the public sector and its integration with the role of the productive private sector. The president said that he did not deny that there were very many people with parasitic incomes; moreover, there was no doubt that his anger on the subject of subordination was sincere and that success had eluded it. It appears that some people who strive for confrontation gave the picture that our condemnation of subordination means casting some doubts about the nationalism of the president or his firmness in the face of people with foreign and domestic designs. That is as far from our conception as possible. Our conception (specifically in this party and its newspaper) is that people with foreign and domestic designs are not comfortable with the president's positions. Their conspiracies against him might

begin for this reason. However, our saying this does not conflict with the description of the general state which our nation has reached, a condition of excessive reliance on (and consequently subordination to) the United States. This condition includes all areas--the political, military, social and economic. It is a condition which restricts the movement of all nationalist parties, that is, restricts the president as much as it restricts the opposition parties. An urgent joint effort to emerge from this condition is necessary.

The principles President Mubarak declares are to a large extent compatible with those the Labor Party declares. They are in reality principles over which we agree temperamentally and unhypocritically from the premise of Egyptian nationalism and Arab and Islamic affiliation. However, a group of people who belong to the National Party or certain opposition parties might disagree with these principles. These people have an interest in the continuation of the current corruption and when any initiative at reform takes place they threaten to smuggle their money out and create economic collapse. The truth is that they have indeed smuggled their money out and are maintaining alert preparations on themselves to leave on the first airplane. This group's values have become tarnished and it has started to become difficult to set it right and reform it. Indeed, it can resist reform, relying on the foreign forces which offer various "forms of aid" in order to continue the present destructive policies.

The current political crisis has more than one cause, and foremost among the causes is that the leadership has not yet decided to confront the diseases at their roots and its patience becomes strained if the people urgently ask it to act in this direction.

#### The Crisis of Democracy

We do not deny that the democratic process has become involved in numerous mistakes, and we do not deny that we have not yet earned many of the rules of this system of government. We have previously brought this up on the pages of AL-SHA'B. However, mistakes and deficiencies exist in the government and its party before they exist in us and the other opposition parties. In spite of that, we are not now aiming at trading charges. Better than that, we should realize the complementarity of our roles, and realize that the difference in our positions regarding national action does not conflict with the fact that we are all a "national team." We want everyone to confirm that the Labor Party does not restrict its concerns to provocation and agitation. We have sometimes been compelled actually to talk in a loud voice, but was it possible for us to do otherwise, since we were talking about an imminent danger while the keepers of the house were sleeping?

There remains a final matter which we are not mentioning on the occasion of the president's interview, but comes up while we are stating our positions regarding the attempts at confusion in general. This issue is connected to the series of positions we adopted regarding the incident of the Egyptian

airplane in Malta then the tragedy of Sulayman Khatir, from the time he was arrested to the time of his murder. Some people (who are playing with fire) have tried to benefit from the coincidence that these events are connected in some way to the armed forces to make it seem as if our positions regarding these events had the objective of denigrating the armed forces as an institution.

It goes without saying that there is no basis to this dangerous criminal game. We criticize some forms of conduct here and demand that they be subjected to accountability; we criticize the forms of conduct and evaluate decisions in the economic, cultural or political institutions and so forth to the same extent. It is well known that criticism and holding to account do not mean belittling the ability of the institution concerned as a whole.

As far as the armed forces, specifically, are concerned, all national forces are proud of their role. AL-SHA'B has previously asked that the door be opened to a frank dialogue concerning the dimensions of this national role in the context of the country's higher strategy.

AL-SHA'B has raised this issue for the sake of further implanting the exercise of democracy and for the sake of having the real boundaries among the various institutions become clear. We have said, for example, that isolating President Mubarak's national status (as hero of the October war) from the National Party could be an important instrument for advancing the course of democracy, and what has been raised in the recent period stresses the major importance of bringing this matter up.

Finally, we tell all upright national forces to come to speak on a par with us. How much brings us together, while the enemies are all lurking in wait for us!

Beware of the enemies, beware of the hypocrites and may God grant you success. God is almighty.



/Accompanying cartoon/ /Figure on left, labelled "opposition," referring to figure on right, labelled "government, to figure in center, holding up sign labelled "warning"/ Believe me, umpire, he is the one who injured himself with his improper play!

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EGYPT

#### NDP YOUTH MEETING HELD

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 30 Jan 86 p 8

/Article by 'Abd-al-'Azim Darwish and Iman Mustapha: "Wali and al-Janzuri Before the Youth Secretariat and the Educational Session of the National Democratic Party. Public Service is Criterion for Nominating Youths to Local and People's Councils."/

/Text/ Dr Yusuf Wali, secretary general of the National Democratic Party, stated that initiative and public service are the criteria for nominating party youths to local and people's councils and that the Egyptian media are carrying out their national role in clarifying the full facts for the citizens. Dr Kamal al-Janzuri, deputy prime minister and minister of planning, announced that the state is formulating a plan to reduce dependence on foreign sources of food and to reclaim 200,000 feddans annually and then to pass ownership to young people after completing essential facilities. The minister also announced another plan for the creation of 20 development communities outside Cairo to meet population growth and absorb rural migration to large cities.

Dr Wali emphasized that Egypt does not accept loans with contingencies not in line with its interests and that there is a current sentiment to reject a certain country's offer of a \$1 billion loan because it is conditional on the employment of foreign experts for road paving and land reclamation.

Speaking at the first political dialogue organized by the NDP Youth Secretariat and at yesterday's opening of the educational seminar for leaders of the party's youth centers in the governorates, Dr Wali said that talks are currently being held with the Development and Agricultural Trust Bank to provide incentive for reclamation and cultivation by reducing to 4 percent the interest on land reclamation loans. He added that an audit is now being made of all such loans, many of which are yet to be used.

Dr al-Janzuri said that Egypt's development pace, among the fastest in the third world, requires a minimum of 50 billion Egyptian pounds for the upcoming 5-year plan and that 800 megawatts of energy are needed to preserve agro-industrial resources.

Dr al-Janzuri denied reports that there are \$45 billion in Egyptian deposits in foreign banks abroad. He said that the supply of food leads the list of many challenges facing Egypt. The world's wheat surplus in recent years has been at 90 million tons, of which 19 percent goes to the Arab world, whose population is only 4 percent of the inhabitants of the world. Egypt gets 6 percent out of the entire Arab share.

Discussing Egyptian indebtedness, Dr al-Janzuri said that the previously announced \$24.2 billion represented indebtedness at the end of May of last year and that the figure, which increased slightly by the end of last September, will be announced before the People's Assembly. He added that there is no borrowing except for necessary projects and that loans pending now total 395 million Egyptian pounds.

There is coordination now between the ministries of Information, Education, Awqaf, and Culture according to a statement by Dr Ahmad Haykal, minister of culture, at the opening session of the educational seminar also attended by Dr 'Abd-al-Ahad Jamal-al-din, head of the Supreme Council for Youth and Athletics. He said that a number of intellectuals and educated Egyptians will be named to the committees for oversight of artistic works in order to ensure compliance with Egyptian moral values. They will also keep an eye on deteriorating motion pictures and artistic works in order to delete whatever contents may be harmful to Egyptian values without appropriating the rights of producers who had previously been issued permits for such works.

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EGYPT

IMPROVED SERVICES TO UPPER EGYPT PLANNED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 31 Jan 85 p 8

/Article by 'Abd-al-Jawad 'Ali and Muwaffaq Abu-al-Nil: "The People's Assembly Committee for Transport and Communications Calls for Improvements in Railroad Service to Upper Egypt and the Creation of a River Fleet to Transport Cargo Between Cairo and Aswan/

/Text/ During a field visit yesterday to the Governorate of Aswan, the Transport and Communications Committee of the People's Assembly under the chairmanship of Dr Sa'd al-Khawaliqah, urged that railroad service to Upper Egypt be improved in the interest of easing public hardship. The committee also recommended the creation of a river fleet to transport goods between Cairo and Aswan and ease pressure on the railways; the completion of facilities at Aswan and Abu Sinbul airports; adding capacity to telephone exchanges in Aswan, Kawm Umbu, and Idfu in order to satisfy an 8-year-old waiting list; and improving airport runways in Upper Egypt.

In a meeting with Aswan governor Qadri 'Uthman and with the people's council chaired by Hasan Ibrahim, the committee called for the addition of some 2,000 telephone lines to the Aswan exchange and the installation of telephone links with the Sudan. It also called for automating all exchanges in Upper Egypt, increasing the number of second and third class railroad cars to Aswan, providing new buses for the governorate, and putting a steamship into weekly service to carry passengers and cargo between the High Dam and the Abu Sinbul tourist city.

The governor said that a study has been completed on the feasibility of new networks of roads and facilities to develop Abu Sinbuk into a commercial center linking Egypt and the Sudan. He said the groundwork is already under way for a fish processing factory, an ice-making plant, and a veterinary quarantine facility.

Members of the people's council also called for the erection of two Nile bridges, one at Kawm Umbu to connect the eastern and western halves of the town, and another north of the Old Dam.

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EGYPT

BRIEFS

LAND MANAGEMENT PLANS--Dr Yusuf Wali, deputy prime minister and minister of agriculture, said that land for reclamation is currently being redistributed to cooperatives in a way that ensures accessibility to natural sources of irrigation. He ordered the formation of a committee, chaired by Dr Ibrahim 'Antar, head of the Land Improvement Authority, to study the financial status of each cooperative. The committee chairman emphasized that cooperatives in al-Nubariyah region and on the northern coast will be reevaluated on the basis of their contributions to land reclamation and increased agricultural production. The evaluations will be basis for a report to the prime minister, who had directed that squatters' lands be protected as long as they make a serious effort at reclamation. A committee of the State's Private Holdings department is currently determining the land area of the cooperatives and then presenting them with formal deeds so that they may proceed with land reclamation and cultivation in order to achieve food security. /Text/ /Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 3 Feb 85 p 8/ 12945/12276

CSO: 4504/211

LIBYA

## SLOW PROGRESS IN MILITARY TRAINING FOR YOUTH CRITICIZED

Tripoli AL-JAMAHIRIYAH in Arabic 20 Dec 85 pp 12-13

[Interviews with youths in the municipality of Zlitan: "A Generation of Anger...a Living Culutre"]

[Text] AL-JAMAHIRIYAH met with the revolutionary generation in the municipality of Zlitan and conducted the following conversation:

(Layla Ahmad, assembly for the barracks of the Women Teachers' Institute) As concerns military training at the barracks of Zlitan Women Teachers' Institute, we are still stumbling about haphazardly. What we aimed at has not been realized for a number of reasons, among which I would mention following:

1. The battalion in charge of training has been changed more than once, and the soldiers who instruct have been changed from time to time.
2. During the current academic year, 1985-86, training has not started yet in spite of the passage of a long period of time since the beginning of classes at the barracks, because the first battalion was transferred and no replacement for it was sent in. We requested that a battalion be brought in quickly to train us, but our request has unfortunately not been carried out yet.

(Najah Muhammad, for the barracks of Zlitan Women Teachers' Institute) As for the Revolutionary Woman Student's Program, we urge women students to join the movement of revolutionary committees and be actively involved in people's congresses. We proclaim the foolishness of worn out reactionary culture and do everything in our power to rebel against the sick social situation and to challenge the authority of Abu Zayd al-Hilali and [tweak] the mustaches of Abu Jahl. With all strength and with faith in the great revolution, we have broken the bonds of woman's servitude. We continue to urge women still bound in shackles to rebel and revolt and to burn the tents of Harun al-Rashid's harem. We fight openly and are not afraid of anyone. Woman is not a slave. She is not just a sheep to be tied up in the yard of the house. She is an active human being, just like a man. Despite the difficulties we face and despite social attitudes from before the age of mass rule, despite attitudes from the age of ignorance and reactionary culture, attitudes of exploitation, injustice, oppression, tyranny, enslavement, and social coercion--in spite of all this, women in the municipality of Zlitan have been able to assert their

existence and to fulfill the role entrusted to them. Hundreds of them have entered teaching and nursing. Many women officers have graduated from the Military College for Women. Every day, the role of women in this municipality will become more and more sure, until women are liberated from all the bonds that hinder their progress and stand side by side with men in strengthening and firmly establishing the Jamahiriyah by thought and action.

(Fathiyah al-Zakkar, assembly of the Zlitan Women Teachers' Institute) As concerns mass movement within the barracks of Zlitan Women Teacher's Institute, nothing practical has yet taken place, except for a few visits that we have made as students to some families to urge women to practice with weapons and participate in production. There are many reasons for this, among them:

1. During 1984-85, there was a lack of coordination between the military administration, the civil administration, and the women students at the barracks.
2. No plan was laid down for mass movement.
3. There is a negative attitude on the part of some students and men and women teachers at the barracks, as well as on the part of officials at production installations in the municipality. The "militarization" [program] is not an exception: its program for training at the barracks is still stumbling about. A practical plan and a programmed orderly operation for training the women students at the barracks and raising their combat efficiency have not been laid down.
4. Revolutionary doctrine and the philosophy of mass movement are poorly understood or not understood at all.
5. As for the revolutionizing of curricula, unfortunately we have not laid down any plan yet. At the urging of the revolutionary power, we hope to lay down a plan and hope that the revolutionizing of curricula will soon take place.

(Fawziyah 'Abdallah, assembly of the Zlitan Women Teachers' Institute) In reality, the veil is not what many short-sighted people or those with old and backward attitudes allege it to be. In my view, the veil does not constitute an obstacle to women in areas of work. Whoever says so is really against the freedom of women and their equality with men. The only obstacle before women and their progress to take part in building the free and happy society of the Jamahiriyah is backward thought and reactionary culture, the culture of the age of decadence, injustice, and darkness. Khawlah bint al-Azwar was veiled, but the veil did not constitute an obstacle impeding her from performing her duty.

('A'ishah Ramadan, assembly of the Zlitan Women Teachers' Institute) We continually guide the masses of women, urge them to active attendance at people's congresses, and call upon them to practice bearing arms.

(Assembly of the Revolutionary Committee of Zlitan Women Teachers' Institute)  
Finally, through this revolutionary pulpit for guidance and exhortation, AL-JAMAHIRIYAH, the newspaper of the revolutionary committees, we take the opportunity of urge the masses of women in the municipality to rebel against the sick social situation and break the bonds of enslavement to men. Man is a human being and woman is a human being. It is the duty of both of them together to build and work side by side to establish the green [book's] mass doctrine, which is the path to freedom, happiness of the masses, and paradise on earth.

Our great thanks to the revolutionary committee of AL-JAMAHIRIYAH!

(Ahmad Muhammad al-Jundi, al-Fawatir Secondary Barracks) The field aspect of military training is proceeding as desired. As for the military fundamental laws, they are [word illegible, possibly "not"] keeping step with the theses of the revolution, in spite of the fact that they are necessary to speed the bringing about of an armed populace. As for students, they are accepting military training with great energy, fervor, and enthusiasm.

As for the Revolutionary Student Program, we have not yet laid down a practical plan coordinating the educational institutions. However, students have an effective presence within the people's congresses and revolutionary committees. Students have participated in the revolutionary program at the municipal level and have had an active role.

We have more than one program and concept for realizing mass movement, and all the students at the barracks have high morale and great enthusiasm. However, within the municipality no practical organizational program has yet been laid down for the mass organization of installations.

(Husayn 'Ali Bashir, assembly of al-Fawatir Secondary Barracks) Military training at the barracks of al-Fawatir Secondary School is considered relatively good this year and is characterized by an enthusiastic spirit and high morale on the part of the students.

As for the Revolutionary Student Program, we have not yet accomplished the desired steps.

Student attitude, however, is improving every day. But the material possibilities for implementing the program by translating positive student attitude into action are not available.

Mass movement as an idea and as concepts and as a culture, we have been able to mobilize all forces, but we find difficulties in carrying out an operational program at the municipal level from the standpoint of resources.

At the barracks level, curricula have not been revolutionized, because the curricula of the educational institution are still linked to the curricula of educational institutions on the Jamahiriya level. However, at the barracks of al-Fawatir Secondary School we are already doing original work and are trampling on backward curricula in order to force the General Popular Committee for Education to make haste in the matter.

(Muhammad Mas'ud, Assembly of the Revolutionary Committee of al-Fawatir Secondary Barracks) Military training at the barracks in the beginning was very unsuccessful when it followed the militarization of Zlitan. The reason, of course, goes back to the need for resources. Resources for militarization are very low, and the number of trainees very large. The revolutionary power at the barracks held a number of meetings to discuss the matter and arrived at a solution. The Majir battalion was put in charge of training the barracks, but we did not reach our training goal. Then a second battalion was put in charge of training. Training is now good, though we lack many resources.

(Hasan Bashir, Assembly of al-Fawatir Secondary Barracks) The educational curricula have not yet been revolutionized. They are still traditional and constitute an obstacle to students' progress, originality, and excellence. We have not arrived at a solution to this problem in spite of the fact that the students are continually criticizing the traditional curricula.

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1 April 1986

LIBYA

## TUNIS URGED TO REJECT FRENCH IMPERIALISM

Tripoli AL-JAMAHIRIYAH in Arabic 20 Dec 85 pp 10-11

[Editorial by the Revolutionary Committees of the Municipality of Zlitan:  
"In a Bottleneck"]

[Text] Now that reports have come in revealing the presence in Tunisia of spy equipment consisting of French airplanes and radar whose function, as France admits, is to conduct surveillance of alleged Libyan military movements on the borders with Tunisia and Chad, the threads of the despicable conspiracy that France is weaving in cooperation with the client Tunisian regime against the Arab people in the Jamahiriya and in Tunisia have become clear. We do not lack certainty, nor do we need to look for empty justifications and rationalizations in order to understand the real aims hidden behind the presence of French bases and armies in Tunisia: France has clearly entangled the Tunisian regime in a new scandal before the world. In its wake, the true face of the client Tunisian regime has been revealed to the world. It is a regime that continues to assert its hostility to the Arab people in the Jamahiriya. This regime has proved that its hostility toward the Jamahiriya was caused less by the [Libyan] decree on dispensing with [foreign] work force than by the instigation and direction of the Elysee Palace, which harbors open enmity toward the Jamahiriya and its people on account of the Jamahiriya's stand on the establishment of peace and security in the territory of Chad, something that France, which only wants Africa to be an appendage to France, does not seek. We were not surprised by the evident confusion of the custodians of the ruling regime, which was thwarted when the situation was laid bare and exposed before the world, thus strengthening the position of the Jamahiriya and confirming its predictions about events in Tunisia. It has now been proved to the world without a doubt that Tunisia has been merely a French protectorate carrying out the inveterate hidden imperialistic wishes of the rulers of France. The Tunisian regime has thereby lost the credibility of its vaunted slogans of independence, patriotism, and nationalism. This is especially true now that this regime has appeared in such an abject position following the Zionist air piracy to which Arab land in Tunisia was recently subjected. Instead of enlisting all of Tunisia's capabilities to combat this attack by every means, we find Tunisia, even in its media, fanning the fire of hostility between the Arab people in the Jamahiriya and Tunisia. We find that the government media have reached such a filthy level of decadence that they are defaming and cursing the 1 September Revolution and its great people. Even the various international circles have

disavowed the level of filth reached by the Tunisian media. The real motives are not so much the story of how Tunisian workers were dispensed with or mistreated, as the Tunisian authorities allege; rather, the motive is a suspicious cover-up of the dirty operations French forces are carrying out in Tunisia and of the entire French presence there.

The unemployment crisis in Tunisia was caused not so much by the decision of the Arab people in the Jamahiriya to dispense with a foreign work force and to depend on itself in production, as by the responsibility borne by the Tunisian regime and its stupid policy for treating economic problems: waging war against Tunisian workers, suppressing their demonstrations demanding their rights, and persecuting the leaders of the General Labor Union who want workers' problems solved and their rights granted. The Tunisian regime, which has made Tunisia a colonial protectorate of a state hostile to the Arab people, is the cause of all the problems of the Tunisian people. This truth becomes evident every day. The latest example is the scandal uncovered by the Tunisian magazine AL-MUSAWWAR: 500 tons of coffee beans arrived recently at the Tunisian port of Halq al-Wadi from occupied Palestine. The steamer that carried the cargo unloaded it on instructions from Tunisian authorities in exchange for huge commissions paid to important figures who were behind the deal. This scandal has aroused the indignation of the Arab people of Tunisia, who have been frequently and repeatedly humiliated by the client regime.

Through their firm stands, the Arab people in the Jamahiriya embody the honor of the Arab nation and its free will, a will that refuses to yield and submit to its enemies planted on its borders in Tunisia and Egypt. This position will be defended to the death. The threats and insolent pronouncements of America or France will not bend it. Starting from the principle of security of America or France will not bend it. Starting from the principle of security for the Jamahiriya and the protection of its people, we warn the Tunisian regime that it is the right of this people to strike these bases to preserve its security. This action follows from the Jamahiriya's role in opposing foreign interference in the Arab homeland, even if there are those who do business and cooperate with such interference for the Arab nation rejects such examples, and the period of imperialism is over. France must depart, or else its position will become extremely difficult. Their attempts have failed to destroy the revolutionary stands of the Jamahiriya. The Tunisian regime, on which France greatly depends, is virtually finished. The harbingers of collapse and the glow of revolution have emerged to announce the union of the people of the Jamahiriya and Tunisia in carrying forward together the course of the revolutionary impulse.

[Signed] The Revolutionary Committees of the Municipality of Zlitan

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LIBYA

# FRANCE's 'IMPERIALISTIC' PLANS IN CHAD DENOUNCED

Tripoli AL-JAMAHIRIYAH in Arabic 20 Dec 85 p 11

[Editorial by the Revolutionary Committees of the Municipality of Zlitan:  
"The Unambiguous Position"]

[Text] To those who talk about Chad in the tone of a concerned father or loving mother, as if Chad were their own child, an inseparable part of their being and their consuming interest--from the Elysee Palace to Cairo [the Arabic name of Cairo, which means "the vanquisher," has been distorted into al-Maqhurah, "the vanquished"] and other African and world capitals: we say to all of them, in a tone that will utterly silence them, "If you do not take your hands off Chad, we will cut them off entirely!" We mean what we say. We will absolutely never allow the game to repeat itself a second time in Chad. We will not stand by watching while our security is threatened from the south, especially since the entire world recognizes that the secret behind the increasing interest in the Chad problem is not the motive of concern and sympathy for the Chadian people torn by the sufferings of civil war, but rather the fact that Chad is Libya's neighbor and that an aggravation of the situation in Chad would mean a threat to the stability and security of Libya. Libya is the main point and the objective which it is desired to do away with.

As we have stated many times, we, as a part of this continent, will not allow any outside power to intervene in the affairs of the continent or threaten its security. The French state, which is concerned more than any other state in this subject, must comprehend and understand this correct and unambiguous stand and must desist from activities that tend to endanger the safety, security, and freedom of the peoples of Africa. Concerning Chad, we want to tell the French state, which is known as the country of law, legal codes, morality, international relations, and the rights of man, and which we do not believe would allow itself to mar its reputation and its moderate and respected image in the world by engaging in costly foolishness and by deciding to intervene in the affairs of a country without a justification in law, ethics, humanity, or geography--we want to tell France that the time has come for it and its president, Mitterand, to know that the best thing for France's reputation and international esteem is for France to leave the African continent forever, withdraw its forces from Central Africa and other countries, and not to intervene in Chad, an African country that has been suffering from disturbance, anarchy, instability, and civil wars for years.



France should realize that its security is not linked to the security of all of Africa, let alone to Chad, and that Libya is concerned with the security of Africa and of Chad because Libya is an African state linked to Chad by historical and geographical relations. Any threat to Chad is a threat to Libya, Chad's northern neighbor and natural ally. We believe that France knows this fact well and will not rush blindly to intervene in Chad, which would remind Africans and the entire world that France is still, as nations once knew her to be, "a malevolent imperialistic state" that pays no heed to international covenants and that does not respect the will of the peoples.

Let France and the whole world know that the security of Chad is linked to the security of Libya and that we will not allow Chad to be turned into an imperialistic base against Libya.

Our position is to support the transitional government of unity in reestablishing its control in Chad. It is the legitimate government recognized by the Organization of African Unity. Habre, who split from this government, is a rebel. He should be punished, not supported so as to become "legitimate president." In any case, we will not intervene in Chad with our forces, unless some other party intervenes in the country's affairs, at which time we would become interested in direct intervention.

If France ignores all of this and intervenes in Chad with its forces, our operation of opposing France will not be restricted to Chad; we shall attack and destroy all French interests in Africa.

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LIBYA

# MASSIVE NEW IRRIGATION PROJECTS SURVEYED

Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR in Arabic 20 Jan 86 p 11

[Article by Bashir Na'san: "Taming the Land, Filling the Void"]

[Text] As the air in the atmosphere flows from a realm of higher pressure to ones of lower pressure, in order to fill that area:

Likewise, water proceeds from its sources and flows to fill up all the depressions and hills and when they all are on an equal level it seeks other depressions, and thus the more it has happened to fill up an empty area it moves over to others, because this water, as scientific laws assert, cannot naturally rise above the place from which it flows.

Therefore the phenomenon of colonialism made its appearance. Among the things that prompted the colonialist countries seek areas to occupy were economic resources, and it was these that, through their presence in specific areas to the exclusion of others, defined the orientations and ambitions of the colonial countries and their movement, because these latter areas, in reality, resembled empty land, a vacuum, owing to the absence of military power and optimum scientific thinking which would guarantee the attainment of a strong economically, militarily and culturally integrated society.

Perhaps what turned the continents of Africa and Latin America into the areas where the phenomenon of colonialism was most concentrated was political and ideological weakness and the failure to build a liberated productive economy. These two elements helped create a weak, defeated psychology which was not liberated from the mentality of subordinates to the West even after the declaration of what is called independence. In the Jamahiriyah, as we are today declaring defiance to colonialism and its leader America, we need the further closing of ranks, more production, the further construction of a military strike force and the creation of suicidal armed fighting people. Because we will not be an area of a void, disposed toward continued cultural, military and economic inroads, we have decided to produce our food from under our own feet and by our own hands, through the processes of taming the land and making it capable of the new planting of trees and cultivation of wheat, barley and corn crops. There can be no independence for a people through reliance on what comes to them from abroad, because a subject

relationship will exist in one form or another; the person who owns your food can at any moment deprive you of it and consequently it will be easy to eliminate you because the alternative is not available to you and you are then compelled to kiss the shoes of the men in the government of the country which has supplied you with food, one after the other. What life is that in which a loaf of bread is begged for and its price is:

Political concessions?

Military facilities?

Economic colonialism?

The destruction of dignity?

The grant of free access to land, sea and air?

What national anthem is sung, what flags fly and what slogans can be raised in a country where everything is tossed to it as scraps are tossed to animals?

In a tour the newspaper AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR made within the General Grain Authority, we managed to learn about the general plan which has been approved for providing all the grain we need for this year as well as the surplus we will obtain, which will be the strategic reserve for following years.

The experts there informed us that the total areas on which some rain has fallen which are capable of planting and production, that is, every spot of land in which the factors of farming and crop production are to be found, have been planted and farmed with the appropriate crop. These areas come to thousands of hectares all in all. Although we can record that there have been some shortcomings in some agricultural secretariats in the municipalities, since there are people who have not made the desired contribution in terms of aid to farmers or exploitation of unused land, and a failure in following up on some beneficiaries who have not plowed their land this year and in some previous seasons -- in spite of all this, the areas which have been farmed are as follows:

Table on the Areas Farmed with the Barley Crop for the Season 1985-86 up to 8 January 1986

Region Municipa- lity Project	Irrigated per Hec- tare People Individuals		Total	Dry-farmed Per Hec- tare People Individuals		Total Irri- gated	Overall Dry- farmed
[Western]							
Five Points	--	5,150	5,150	20	11,300	1,320	16,470
Al-Zawiyah	--	728	728	--	--	--	728
Tripoli	--	3,305	3,305	--	1,654	154	4,959
Al-'Aziziyah	--	525	525	70	2,944	3,014	3,539

Al-Khums	150	125	275	1,200	4,100	5,300	5,575
Tarhunah	--	--	--	1,328	14,350	15,678	15,678
Gharayan	--	--	--	1,458	10,750	12,208	12,208
Ghadamis	--	--	--	100	439	539	539
Yifran	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total, Region	150	9,833	9,983	4,176	45,537	49,713	59,696
Central							
Misuratah	352	600	952	700	28,850	29,550	30,502
Sirt	--	--	--	3,070	--	3,070	3,070
Suf al-Jin	--	--	--	950	2,000	2,950	2,950
Zulaytin	--	300	300	--	20,000	20,000	20,300
Ajdabiya	--	--	--	2,916	34,716	37,632	37,632
Total, Region	352	900	1,252	7,636	85,566	93,202	94,454
Southern							
Al-Shati'	150	346	496	--	--	--	496
Sabha							
Ubari							
Murzuq							
Total, Region	150	346	496	--	--	--	496
Eastern							
Al-Kufrah							
Benghazi	--	--	--	11,370	105,400	116,770	116,770
Tubruq	--	--	--	1,000	30,000	31,000	31,000
Darnah							
Al-Jabal Al-Akhdar	--	--	--	--	22,500	22,500	22,500

Al-Fatih	--	--	--	9,850	17,000	26,850	26,850
Total, Region	--	--	--	22,220	174,900	197,120	197,120
General Grain Pro- duction Authority							
Al-Sarir Project							
Al-Kufrah Project	672	--	672	--	--	--	672
Mankusah Project							
Al-Aryal Project	1,822	--	1,822	--	--	--	1,822
Barju' Project							
Irwan Project							
Al-Jafarah Plain Project	--	--	--	3,210	--	3,210	3,210
Abu Shaybah Project	528	--	528	--	--	--	528
Total, Authority	3,022	--	3,022	3,210	--	3,210	6,232
Overall Total	3,674	11,079	14,753	37,232	306,003	343,245	357,998

Table on the Areas Farmed with the Wheat Crop for the Season 1985-86 up to 8 January 1986

Region Municipa- lity Project	Irrigated per Hec- tare People Individuals		Total	Dry-farmed Per Hec- tare People Individuals		Total	Overall
						Irri- gated	Dry- farmed
Western							
Five Points	--	5,800	5,800	1,565	5,500	7,065	12,865
Al-Zawiyah	--	354	354	--	--	--	354

Tripoli	--	2,839	2,839	--	531	531	3,370
Al-'Aziziyah	--	2,713	2,713	870	250	1,120	3,833
Al-Khums	485	1,050	1,535	1,535	400	510	910
Tarhunah	50	--	50	53	1,030	1,083	1,133
Gharayan	--	--	--	800	1,705	2,505	2,505
Ghadamis	--	--	--	--	55	55	55

#### Yifran

Total, Region	535	12,756	13,291	3,688	9,581	13,269	26,560
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#### Central

Misurata h	257	1,020	1,277	1,600	2,120	3,720	4,997
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#### Sirt

Suf al-Jin	--	--	--	3,100	5,000	8,100	8,100
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Zulaytin	--	400	400	540	15,300	15,840	16,240
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Ajdabiya	--	--	--	--	10,000	10,000	10,000
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Total, Region	257	1,420	1,677	5,240	32,420	37,660	39,337
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#### Southern

Al-Shati'	541	242	783	--	--	--	783
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Sabha	189	661	850	--	--	--	850
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#### Ubari

#### Marzuq

Total, Region	730	903	1,633	--	--	--	1,633
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#### Eastern

#### Al-Kufrah

Benghazi	--	--	--	3,000	10,000	13,000	13,000
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#### Tubruq

#### Darnah

Al-Jabal	--	--	--	--	13,000	13,000	13,000
Al-Akhdar							
Al-Fatih	--	--	--	--	80,000	80,000	80,000
Total, Region	--	--	--	3,000	103,000	106,000	101,000
General Grain Pro- duction Authority							
Al-Sarir Project	16,490	--	16,490	--	--	--	16,490
Al-Kufrah Project	5,370	--	5,370	--	--	--	5,370
Mankusa h Project	2,223	--	2,223	--	--	--	2,223
Al-Aryal Project							
Barju' Project							
Irwan Project							
Al-Jafarah Plain Project	--	--	--	845	--	845	845
Abu Shaybah Project							
Total , Authority	24,083	--	24,083	845	--	845	24,928
Overall Total	25,605	15,079	40,684	12,773	145,001	157,774	198,458

Areas Targeted for Farming with Wheat and Barley Crops for the Agricultural Season 1985-86

Region Municipa- lity Project	Wheat in Hec- tares		Total Wheat	Barley in Hec- tares		Total Barley	Total Wheat and Barley
	Irriga- ted	Dry Farmed		Irriga- ted	Dry Farmed		
Eastern							
Al-Fatih	--	90,000	90,000	--	30,000	30,000	120,000

Al-Jabal Al-Akhdar	--	13,000	13,000	--	10,000	10,000	23,000
Benghazi	--	3,000	3,000	--	72,000	72,000	75,000
Darnah	--	3,000	3,000	--	10,000	10,000	13,000
Tubruq	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Al-Kufrah	200	--	200	50	--	50	250
Total, Eastern Region	200	109,000	109,200	50	12 2,000	122,050	231,250
Central							
Ajdabiyah	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Zulaytin	550	2,000	2,550	200	45,000	45,200	47,750
Misuratah	2,000	3,000	5,000	1,000	30,000	31,000	36,000
Sirt	600	--	600	250	--	250	850
Suf al-Jin	--	3,000	3,000	--	11,000	11,000	14,000
Total, Central Region	3,150	8,000	11,150	1,450	86,000	87,450	98,600
Western							
Gharayan	--	4,000	4,000	--	16,000	16,000	20,000
Yifran	--	2,000	2,000	--	10,000	10,000	12,000
Ghadamis	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Tripoli	5,000	1,500	6,500	1,000	11,000	12,000	18,500
Al-Zawiyah	7,500	4,000	11,500	1,500	10,000	11,500	23,000
Five Points	6,000	5,000	11,000	1,000	10,000	11,000	22,000
Al-'Aziziyah	7,000	7,000	14,000	1,000	13,000	14,000	28,000
Tarhunah	300	7,000	7,300	50	45,000	45,050	52,350
Al-Khums	1,600	1,000	2,600	500	10,000	10,500	13,100
Total, Western Region	27,400	31,500	58,900	5,050	125,000	130,050	188,950



# Southern

Al-Shati'	1,200	--	1,200	150	--	150	1,350
Ubari	1,900	--	1,900	300	--	300	--
Marzuq	2,000	--	2,000	200	--	200	2,200
Sabha	1,500	--	1,500	--	--	--	1,500
Total, Southern Region	6,600	--	6,600	650	--	650	7,250

# General Grain Pro- duction Authority

Al-Sarir Project	16,500	--	16,500	--	--	--	16,500
Al-Kufrah Project	5,500	--	5,500	1,000	--	1,000	6,500
South al- Fazzan Project	2,430	--	2,430	1,500	--	1,500	3,930
Al-Jafarah Plain Project	--	5,400	5,400	--	11,700	11,700	17,100
Abu Shaybah Project	900	1,700	2,600	--	--	--	2,600
Total, Authority	25,330	7,100	32,430	2,500	11,700	14,200	46,630
Overall Total	62,680	155,600	218,280	9,700	344,700	354,400	572,680

These areas and figures are in reality a great challenge to America and practical proof that we are able to live prosperously in spite of the colonialist embargo. While our forefathers resisted invasion with empty stomachs and triumphed, we now are stronger, because we will eliminate the invaders with our food under our feet. While we have declared a challenge to America in 1986, it is also a year for challenging and taming the land.

There are more pictures of the challenge which we will present later to stress that the Jamahiriyah is not an area of vacuum and consequently that

it is not easy for the colonialists to devour it, and, even if it is devoured, the flesh of the Libyan Arab masters will be bitter-tasting as colocynth.

11887

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LIBYA

PROGRESS OF GREAT MAN-MADE RIVER REVIEWED

Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR in Arabic 20 Jan 86 p 12

[Article by 'Abd-al-Salam Salamah: "The River Challenges the Sea"]

[Text] We like challenge, and we can challenge the two forms of terror:

Terror from nature and terror from inhuman man.

We are insistent on the need to eliminate the barren desert. Our weapon in this is the great man-made river. We will terrify the aridity and kill it, because it is opposed to life. We will work day and night so that the work of building the river in its natural form will progress.

We are also insistent on the need to stand up to terror from those who are inhuman. In this, our weapon is belief in the land and firm adherence to our right to live as free people.

The majesty of the river is part of the majesty of the revolution. While our political freedom has been achieved by revolution, our economic freedom will flow through the great pipe and the waters of the river will sweep away the complex that arises from eating off the foreign world. At that time, we will not be concerned that imperialism is "wallowing" in the waters of the sea, far from our borders. At that time, also, the river will have succeeded in challenging the sea. Our people have borne the responsibility of the need to build the greatest manmade river in the world. This in no case can be affected by "the tempests of economic boycott," and the attainment of its ends can be diverted by no threats.

In an atmosphere in whose sky the empty grasp of embargo flashes and in which the threatening campaigns are intensified, the male and female Libyans put the hands on the trigger to repel all likely American Zionist imperialist aggression. In these circumstances, work is taking place in an organized, orderly, rapid manner to build the river which will change the face of the Libyan land and clothe it in the color of life.

The waters of the greatest manmade river in the world are being readied to emerge after having slept forgotten and neglected in the depths of the earth

for many centuries. The Libyan Arab people's decree on the need to build the river and allocate more than \$3 billion to this project was not a haphazard one. The Libyan Arab people are well aware that the expenses of building the river are deducted from a sole income source, which is oil, but the flow of the river means getting rid of a complex that arises from having a sole source of income, since the sources of income will become numerous and we will rid ourselves of, or reduce, reliance on oil, whose presence in any country without competition I consider to be a prolongation of the life of backwardness and dependence.

The decision to build it was proper and aware, and the challenge whose banner we carry these days has its own delicious flavor. The unswerving progress of work in constructing the river also means that we are able to make a challenge and that we can make the challenge profit at the same time.

As our American friends have refused to answer the appeals of terrorism which demand that it is necessary to leave Libyan territory, it is also the American machinery which has "by lawful means" traveled by ship, cut the chains of the embargo and reached its place, to participate in the challenge of nature, to build the greatest river in the world. Its arrival is to be considered a natural thing, because it is the doing of ordinary Americans who are friends of the Libyans, and not the doing of the terrorist administration.

Yes, the two situations are natural.

That is, it is a natural thing that the American citizen should remain on the territory of the Jamahiriyah, because he feels "We are the guests in the transaction" and feels that our home is the bounty of the home of every guest who has become restricted in place or time.

It is also a natural thing that the machinery should arrive, because it is manufactured by the ordinary American and it is not the manufacture of the administration which is dominated by Zionism, the enemy of the American although he does not feel it.

Tomorrow the waters of the river will flow. Tomorrow, through the pipe, 4 meters in diameter, the early signs of salvation from economic subordination will appear on the horizon of the Jamahiriyah and the Libyans and their brothers and friends will all drink from the waters of the greatest river to be built in the era of the challenge.

The brothers in the administration of the great man-made river project prepared a summary report on the achievements which were realized from the beginning of work on 16 October 1984 to 12 January 1985. We have considered it appropriate to underline the most important activities achieved during that period, and the newspaper will move on the next time to the project site, from which the information will be more detailed.

#### Establishment of Factories

Work is underway on the establishment of the two most modern and massive factories in the world for manufacturing pipe, one in the al-Sarir area,

containing three production lines, and the other in the Brega area, containing two parallel production lines. These two factories have been designed to produce the pipe necessary for the gathering lines from the wells and the main transmission line. Its diameter ranges from 1.5 to 4 meters.

The construction of most of the work, such as the foundations for the machinery, the steel installations, the storage areas, construction camps, offices and also the plants' vital facilities, such as drainage systems and roads, has been completed in these two plants.

The most important machinery and equipment constituting the plants, for instance the gravel mixers, workshops for the pipe spreads, workshops for the pouring cylinders and transportation platforms, as well as massive and medium-sized cranes, electricity generators and metal structures, have been supplied and are being installed pursuant to that.

The amounts that have been provided so far are as follows:

Quantities of excavation and fill: 3,084,600 cubic meters.

Quantities of ordinary and reinforced concrete: 115,000 cubic meters.

It is expected that the construction of the factories will be completed before mid-1986, including the test period.

The rate of construction in the plants comes to about 66 percent.

#### B. Water processing systems:

The necessary wells to supply plants with water used in processing have been drilled. In the area of south Gialo, eight wells have been drilled which will produce 160 liters a second, and pumps, electric generators and the electric supply system have been installed. The gathering system has been built and the line for piping water to the Brega plant, 256 kilometers in length, has been constructed of lined concrete pipe 500 millimeters in diameter.

In addition, the water flowed to the Brega area by natural flow on 1 September 1985 to supply the plant and gravel production equipment. In the area of al-Sarir, three wells were drilled to produce 120 liters per second, pumps, generators and an electric supply system have been installed and the gathering system and line for transmitting water to the al-Sarir plant, 16 kilometers in length, have been constructed.

C. Building of the necessary roads for construction activity. The transport of pipe from the plants to the construction sites requires giant trucks with trailers. Lest this affect the paved roads connecting the towns and villages of the Jamahiriya, the situation has called for construction of compacted dirt roads alongside the route of the line to be used for construction operations and for operating in the future.

Many construction operations in this area are taking place now along the route of the system. These include detailed survey activities, the removal

of mines, soil research, the construction of camps, the provision of equipment, the supply, compaction and sprinkling of proper soil and road construction. The construction rate of the al-Sarir-Sirt system roads has come to about 62 percent of their overall length, which will total 965 kilometers.

The rate of construction on the total lengths of the system has come to 54 percent.

**D. Development of gravel quarries and the supply and installation of crushing equipment:**

Since most of the primary materials entering into the manufacture of the pipe are locally produced materials, such as gravel, sand and cement:

Extensive studies have taken place to choose and determine suitable gravel sources, field and laboratory tests have been carried out on them to determine their quality and roads and water systems have been built to supply these sites in both Brega and al-Sarir alongside the plants. The trucks and crushing and sifting equipment have been imported and are being installed.

**E. Electricity generation and distribution:**

The project program will include the construction of an electric plant in the al-Sarir area with a total capacity of 75 megawatts, consisting of five units. These are to be supplied with natural gas or crude oil from the al-Farigh field by means of 240-millimeter pipes 80 kilometers in length. This plant will operate to supply the project with the electric power necessary for operation in the future.

A group of international contractors have submitted bids for constructing it and the study of the bids is underway preparatory to the signing of the contract with the most suitable of these contractors, preparatory to embarking on the construction.

11887  
CSO: 4504/182

MOROCCO

## COURT IMPOSES HEAVY SENTENCES ON 26 LEFTISTS

Linked to Algerian Military Security

PM061347 Paris LE MONDE in French 5 Feb 86 p 5

[Jean de la Gueriviere dispatch: "Trial of 27 Leftists in Casablanca: The 'Uncontrolled Splinter Groups' Feared by Morocco"]

[Excerpt] Rabat--On Monday 3 February 27 left-wing extremists appeared before the Casablanca criminal appeals court charged with breaching the state's internal security. On 31 January a court in the same city sentenced 15 additional leftists to terms of 3-4 years imprisonment.

Despite assurances of not wanting to interfere in matters that are the responsibility of the justice department, it is indicated at the Moroccan Interior Ministry that Algeria is involved in the events currently being examined. Last summer Casablanca magistrates tried extremists belonging to the Islamic youth movement accused of planning sabotage attacks in Morocco following training in Algeria, specifically in the Tindouf region, the domain of the Polisario Front.

"We know that agents of the Algerian military security service gather together Moroccan leftists and extremists in Paris and advise them to act jointly," we were told by a high-ranking official, according to whom Algeria, "recognizing the Polisario Front's failure, is trying to continue the war by other means." Our interlocutor believes that these "conspiracies" cannot achieve much in the way of concrete results, "but something remains nevertheless, because they force us to take repressive measures, to make arrests, and to hold trials, which harms our image, this doubtless being the objective."

Several observers on all sides acknowledge Algeria's misconduct but believe that it does not explain everything on its own "since the government, like all those of the region, for that matter, cannot accept the idea of spontaneous internal opposition."

Term of Sentences Detailed

NC131210 Paris AFP in English 1141 GMT 13 Feb 86

[Text] Casablanca, Morocco, Feb 13 (AFP)--An appeal court has imposed prison sentences of between three and 20 years on all but one of 27 defendants charged with trying to overthrow the Moroccan monarchy and restructure the banned left-wing Ila al-Amam (Forward) group.

The court, in its ruling last night, sentenced five of the defendants to 20-year terms, three to 15-year terms, four to 10 years, six to six years and three to three years. The 27th defendant was acquitted.

The defendants were accused of trying to replace the monarchy with a "socialist people's republic" and reconstitute the Ila al-Alam movement, dismantled by Moroccan authorities between 1976 and 1978.

The court also charged them with maintaining "close links" with the Algerian-backed Polisario Front, which has been battling Moroccan troops for 10 years in a bid to establish an independent state in Western Sahara.

Authorities said Polisario provided funds for the accused to undertake operations "to undermine" student and workers' movements.

The public prosecutor had demanded 30-year prison terms for all the accused.

Ila al-Amam Members Sentenced for Conspiracy

Rabat AL-BAYANE in French 14 Feb 86 p 2

[Text] 20-year sentences: Mohamed Knouch; Chefchaoui Moussaoui; Mustapha Brahma; Aboubakr Khamlichi; Hassan Belkhal.

15-year sentences: Ahmed Ben Massaoud; Brahim Belaid; Mohammed Boukil.

12-year sentences: Abdullah Ajaha; Said Thal; Mohammed Nasreddine; Abdelhaq Moussadak.

1-year sentences: Hassan Saib; Abdelmoumen Chbari; Machrouhi Dahbi; Abdallah Housbi.

6-year sentences: Nezha Bernoussi; Saadia Kabil; Mahmoud Lakhassi; Ahmed Lhaj; Abdallah Lahraizi; Najib Hamdani.

3-year sentences: Bachir Lahsani; Khamlichi Dahbi; Abdelaziz Bensmail.

Innocent: Said Rouan.

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CSO: 4500/97



TUNISIA

BRIEFS

NEW UGTT COURT CASE--We have learned that Habib Achour is now in security headquarters for questioning on a new matter concerning a charge of misappropriation of funds of the union's insurance cooperative and that the former director of this organization is under arrest. The matter, we have learned, involves a sum of 60 million taken from the account of the Mutual Insurance Union and transferred to the account of the newspaper AL-SHA'B. It appears that the act was illegal and counter to the procedures followed in financial institutions. However, according to what we have learned, the funds were not used for personal purposes but were transferred from the account of one institution of the union to another (i.e., AL-SHA'B). [Text] Tunis AL-RA'Y in Arabic 7 Feb 86 p 6] 5214/12790

POSSIBLE RESIGNATION FROM UGTT--There is a good deal of talk these days about the possible resignation or retirement for health reasons of Husayn Ben Kaddour, UGTT assistant secretary general for finance. We got in touch with him to inquire about the accuracy of the news. With his customary frankness he told us that at the last (16th) congress of the UGTT held last year he preferred not to be nominated for membership in the executive bureau. This was at the request of his attending physicians in view of the condition of his health. However, the general circumstances prevented that. He has also thought many times about retiring from union work but he has not done so out of consideration for the interests of the country and of the union. We will return to this and many other matters in a wide-ranging interview with Husayn Ben Kaddour in a forthcoming number of this newspaper. [Text] Tunis AL-RA'Y in Arabic 14 Feb 86 p 14] 5214/12790

ACHOUR SEEKS INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS--Habib Ben Achour, UGTT assistant secretary general, is busily engaged in establishing contacts with European and international unions and humanitarian and political organizations to explain the union's situation in Tunisia and social developments. He has had working meetings for this purpose with the CGT [General Confederation of Trade], the CFDT [the French Democratic Confederation of Trade Labor], the National Association for Labor in Paris, and the European Trade Union Confederation. He has also met with officials of the French Socialist Party to review the trade union and social situations and to explain the latest developments in the trade union field in the light of the decisions of the administrative organization that were made on 12 January 1986. Ben Achour also met with a representative of Amnesty International and attended a meeting with UGTT arranged by the

Solidarity Grouping. He had working sessions with the Tunisian Workers Group in France to determine ways of supporting the steadfastness of the trade union members and assisting in the struggles of UGTT. All these international organizations voiced their solidarity with and support for UGTT and their intention to stand beside its legitimate structures. Ben Achour departed at the end of last week for Brussels to meet with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. [Text] [Tunis AL-RA'Y in Arabic 7 Feb 86 p 2] 5214/12790

CSO: 4504/223

IRAQ

PRESIDENT EXHORTS KURDS ON COMMEMORATION OF NORTHERN FIGHTING

Baghdad AL-'IRAQ in Arabic 23 Jan 86 p 3

[Article: "The President and Commander's Talk As He Greeted a Great Host of People Participating in the Al-Qasab and Al-Baradi Battle"]

[Text] One does not always find the words he wishes to find suitable for making a statement by which he can express what is in his spirit and his heart, especially when he hears such eloquence which issues forth not just from good speech but also from the heart, and has been tested in the combat arena and all arenas of sacrifice.

I am delighted that you are overwhelming me in this meeting with your ability to express what is in your spirits for the sake of reaffirming principles and reaffirming the road of sacrifice on behalf of the principles we all believe in, the principles of freedom, independence, lofty honor, high status and a head which is bowed only in kneeling and prostration before almighty glorious God.

Now, it is pride and honor enough for us before the world and before the Arabs that when the name of Iraq is mentioned all lofty notions are recalled along with it, such as sacrifice, heroism, self-renunciation, dignity, intelligence, development, the present, the future, the brilliance of history and all genuine human notions.

This adds to the weight of the honor of the responsibility we owe, and we beseech God that we will be able to bear it. I do not mean just in this position of leadership -- I also mean every Iraqi, from one of its far points to the other. To the extent that men are great in the framework of modest principles in the rural areas or the old Iraqi cities, they say, "When he becomes great in the eyes of his own section, his fortune must treat him well," that is, that means that he will seek to increase the principles and basic values which made him great in the eyes of his group, and since Iraq has, praise be to God, become great in the eyes of its own section, and the section here is the Arabs -- our brothers, with all their good and bad features -- and since it has become great in the eyes of man, the eyes of people and the eyes of the world, it must always prove through its conduct and its thinking that it is worthy of this new status.

## We Increase in Modesty When We Increase in Might

On this occasion, I would like to stress two basic points before we move over to other points and other issues. The first is that we give thanks to God constantly and increase in modesty when we increase in might. All of us, starting with me, are touched with pride because modesty is the way to attain the goal, when it is mixed with visible might. In the realm of war, our modesty is the continued observation of precautions and the continuation of the genuine bonds with one another, the people with the people, the party with the people, and us with everyone. The more we strengthen the living, proper road of the bond which has basically brought us to this level, after reliance on God and faith in God, the greater our road will increasingly rise toward higher ground with God's help.

We are continuing to take precautions against our enemy, and while the weather is cold in the month of January, which we are in now, or in the coming month of February, and we think that this viper will not sting, we must remember that the month of March is coming after February and there is a possibility that the warmth will steal into it and it will sting. The enemy in Iran is like a viper, and we must be on our guard against the viper day and night and keep an eye on it in the cold and in the heat, lest we give it an opportunity to sting.

The great people who have taken part in this campaign which we have talked about on more than one occasion, for the first time in the history of armies -- at least within the limits of my knowledge -- and in the history of nations and the history of wars, a people of civilians in the rear lines in the towns and rural areas, women and men of various ages, have risen up and with this splendid pride have gone out beyond the defensive positions to prepare the operations area for the fighting men, so that the soldiers could strike properly when the enemy approached him and the enemy would not infiltrate into the reeds or get close to the defensive positions. So far as I know, this is the first time this sort of thing has happened, and with thanks to God this situation which we are talking about has happened just in Iraq, in modern history at least, just as we also observed your brothers who went on 6 years ago with the fighting men in the defensive positions and when an aggression occurred attacked with their bulldozers and rose up and attacked as tanks do, and also properly prepared the defensive positions and properly prepared the ground with the soil it needed.

## The People Have Done More Than What Was Required

The people have done more than what was required, and we are confident not only that the Iraqi fighting men are now fighting in defense of the land in accordance with the values they understand, adhere to and believe in, but that their effort has also played a part in making them bear a responsibility beyond the honor of defending the land, now that you have made all these efforts and have prepared all these requirements for them.

Therefore, through the modesty of awareness and knowledge, the people have prepared everything, and the leadership has also prepared everything. I think that this time the fighting man, as much as we became proud of him

through his combat the previous times, this time, with God's help, we will see them with our own eyes hunting for their enemy as they hunt for small rodents.

You are the people of battles and wars, because people who possess a deep civilization must be a fighting people in order to defend their deep civilization and protect it. You Iraqis have not been tested on this day alone, but your history and your journey are well known as far as your national duties are concerned.

#### Frankness Founded on Concern Is Our Approach in Our Relations

The second point concerns our Arab brothers, because I sometimes read uneasiness in your faces when I talk about Arabs in a favorable way. You know that when I talk I do not mean to stand on ceremony, before the people or in life, because ceremony will not build a house or build a paved road, and frankness founded on concern is our approach in our relations with our Arab brothers. However, I would like to say that you must be careful in appraising the phenomena you are not satisfied with in the Arabs. I believe that except for the bad ones, those with special designs or the traitors, all the Arabs are proud of you and even the weak ones who are silent and cannot speak the truth where the situation requires talk or cannot unsheathe the sword with their brothers where the situation requires combat, or those who cannot spend their money or do not spend their money when they are able to from the technical standpoint, even that form of Arab if he were not afraid or did not have a special design would be proud of you within himself, because you express his Arab personality, the other part of his personality, which he cannot express genuinely and in proper form.

#### All the Good Ones Express the Character of the Arab

Now you must praise God that you have not come crying to your Arab brothers because the people who have cried are many and the people who have not been able to be faithful to the trust have been many, but the Arab people and the Arab nation are more than them, and more than all of us. Be confident that the good ones among you, and God willing you are all good, and by this I mean all the Iraqis, the 15 million, every good one expresses the personality of the Arabs in Qatar, in Kuwait, in Syria, in Egypt, in Morocco and everywhere. Be confident that if you now visit any Arab city and they know that you are from Iraq the citizens will come running, because they hear stories of heroism about you just as your brothers, children and neighbors ask you about them in detail, when you come back from the battlefronts, and in the same spirit.

The good person is the one who does not ask more from people than they can bear, but makes requests of them to the extent of their endurance and the magnitude of their ability. It is not permissible that you should imagine, regarding any of your brothers, that they will assault you with weapons for they are not able to do so. If such a thing happens, and one of them says "May God burn you," we consider this a good thing. If the other person says "I have money in my pocket, take it and buy arms with it," we say that that is excellent. If the other person keeps quiet because he is afraid that the

Iranians will hear his voice and frighten him, I do not know why he should be afraid at a time when we are not afraid of them, but fear God alone.

If the Iranians want to usurp our rights, let us rain curses down on their beards and moustaches, these despicable people. You know, brothers, that when I mention the Iranians I mean by them the ruling body in Iran and the people inside and outside Iran who have been loyal to them. They are all included in the statement we have made, because in our rights we do not fear anyone.

There is a country song which occurs to me now which says:

Lowliness has not untied ropes, and a blameworthy person's life is not long;

Greenery which has not dried up has saved us, and only the person whose life is short will die.

On the human level, we all hope and have done what we have done, and you know and you are witnesses in detail to all that has happened, to the point where we hid the news of Iran's aggressions on the borders and concealed it from the papers because we were afraid that if it reached the papers our people would ask us for a stand. We want to push them away with a stick, as the proverb says, perhaps they will stop someplace, but they have only struck anchor on our shores.

I can say that even a person who is afraid to raise his voice and say Lord make the Iraqis triumph by the truth and with the truth in his contacts with the Arabs, we also consider this a great deal. You can tell yourselves once again if a problem occurs to such and such a person and such and such a country with a foreigner that we will not raise our flags and will not unsheathe our swords, but no, the Iraqis are not known for that. If a problem occurs to an Arab in the remotest spot with a foreigner we go bearing our banners to stand alongside the Arab.

That Is Our Fate and That Is Our Mission

That is our fate and that is our mission. The good people are the ones who make this statement in hard times, not the ones who make it in good times. We say it while we are still at war, and we say that if any Arab is rightfully fighting any foreigner in defense of security, honor and the land, we must raise our banners, even if the Iraqis do not accept. I believe that they all will accept, because it is difficult for the Iraqis not to accept, even if five of us bear the banners and stand there alongside the Arabs, because some Arabs cannot make us weak persons, persons with designs or traitors to relinquish these principles, and we cannot relinquish them, with God's help.

An Arab from Tunisia fought with you and was taken prisoner. In captivity they kept torturing him until his leg was paralyzed. They might have left him alone if he had cursed Iraq, but they demanded that he curse Iraq and curse Saddam Husayn, since he was a person well known in Iraq. He refused to make the curses, before they paralyzed his leg with torture, and after a

while he realized that these people would not leave him alone, claimed that he could not talk and told one or two of his comrades, "I am not dumb, but I am dumb as of now, until God relieves us." He stayed dumb for 3 years, until he came with the prisoners they handed over and he told me of the stories of the heroism and the noble combat of your brothers who fell prisoner in special circumstances and the vile torture they engage in vis-a-vis prisoners and against them, which demonstrates the morals of the rulers of Iran and the morals of their forebears.

This is an Arab from Tunisia; there are Arabs from Egypt who have fought with you and Arabs from Yemen and Arabs of all types. If you say that they are few, I will tell you in God's name that if there had been different circumstances they would have come to you in as great numbers as those who come to you from Iraq, perhaps.

If criticism is made on our part toward any Arab, let us not criticize. Let us say, Who is the Arab? and reply, He is us. This is the model Arab, and if we are satisfied with ourselves then that is the Arab in Tunisia, in Egypt, in Syria, in Lebanon, in Jordan and everywhere, and thus he is the Arab and he is not the cause, since there are no shortcomings in an Arab; rather, the shortcomings are in his circumstances.

#### All Their Practices Lead to War

The Iranians' daily practices all lead to war. Let us leave aside the aggressions against Iraq and take what has come after them. In Bahrain, they wanted to overthrow the regime and change it. In Kuwait, they struck at the emir of the country. They intend to change the regime. Every day they stop a ship, take it over to their shores and examine it. The goods the tramps around Khomeyni like they take, and what they do not like they return. What does this mean? But God be praised, God knows them better than we ourselves do.

#### How Greatly Have They Been Deceived

The president of their country went to a number of African countries in order to improve Iran's reputation. There were two female ministers in government in one of the governments they visited, Zimbabwe. They went out to greet him with the heads of the government, and he said "I will not shake their hands because they are women." Thus we can note how greatly those who will not shake a woman's hand have been deceived and how greatly they are afraid of themselves and are afraid of God's punishment of them. That means how greatly they have been deceived. Why shouldn't I shake a woman's hand? That means how bitter and accursed they are. If I do not shake a woman's hand as I shake any man's hand, didn't God create women? What they allege is a new religion has no relationship with the Islamic religion. It is contempt for man, contempt for creation and a lack of respect for it.

#### They Have Twisted Islam's Image before the World

The president of the country came and they held a lavish celebration for him. The people were sitting down, the wife of the president of the country

was sitting alongside her husband, and he refused to attend the party and took his meal in the hotel. This means that God knows them well, since he went to improve a reputation and here he came out with this ugly image, and this great disgrace scandalized us. I say this great disgrace scandalized us because he says that he is a Moslem and he has twisted Islam's image before the world. All the world media are talking about these stories -- the Zionists, the enemies of the Arabs and the enemies of Islam are saying this is an example of the Moslems. They imagine that we are all like that. How could we be like that? Fatimah the luminous was a woman, Eve was a woman, and your great grandmother, your sister and so on. Mankind was created this way: Adam came, then Eve, and mankind began. Thus we have been fortunate. They do not want some Iraqi women to be like the virgins who rode into battle, as was the case with the Iraqi Nashmiyahs, who would assault men in combat in the past; in olden times the daughter of the sheikh would sit on the camel saddle and assault the man, to the point where no one was different in combat. Some Arab women fought Byzantium in difficult circumstances by the sword along with the young man of the house. Therefore they have lost half their people from the outset, an idle capacity they consider a shameful case in society, one which does not contribute to life in the society.

We Hope That They Will Not Come So That They Will Not Die

Whoever loses God loses everything, and their lot now is not good. They considered that the weather was warm and proceeded to assemble their scattered ranks before it turned cold. When we speak and tell the people that the Iranians are intending to attack and have proceeded to assemble themselves, going about making speeches for a period of 15 days and saying that the Iraqis are afraid, not at all, we repeat it for the thousandth time, God's curses be upon them if we are afraid of them.

I hope that they will not attack just for humanitarian reasons. Otherwise, when we get angry we say let them attack. I know that the military field commanders specifically are all saying, We want them to come so we can liquidate them, but we say no. So that our fortune may remain great, God willing, we say that we hope they will not come, so that they will not die, and also so that no Iraqi will be harmed or wounded or meet death in battle. However, if they want to come that will be "up to their luck." However, it is as if we can see with our own eyes how the Nashmiyahs seize them like small rodents and kill those of them they are killing.

Great Acts

The work you have performed, my brothers, and all the activities which serve Iraq and strengthen the arms and backs of the fighting men and their morale, will all pass into history. However, history always talks about special unique acts after 100 years or 400 years; it cannot talk about everything in detail starting with the baker, how he added to his work so he could bake more for the fighting men, to the bold act in the field of combat with the rifle. However, even if some individual acts pass by some historians, the work you have performed will not pass them by, because it is great work and great changes have been built on it and will be built on it, and also because it is work by the standards we understand in the manner of the great



acts of history. Before television showed some of your activities (because it is difficult for us to show all the shots of your campaign, lest some of our defensive positions and their arrangements appear and the enemy benefit from that), television showed some of it and I saw it earlier. The Iraqis have started to exhaust me these days. Your emotions and sacrifices have started to exhaust me, not in the sense that they do not gladden me -- they gladden me greatly -- but also I am exhausted because such emotions and such spirit make one ask himself how devoted he can be and what he can do after that. At times I almost say that a person finds himself incapable of offering anything more that is really great, and hopes that his power will be greater and hopes that he will be offer further service to this great people, who have these splendid human emotions that are brimming over with affection, beneficence, generosity, sacrifice, the search for heroism and honor.

Had I Not Been an Arab I Would Have Become One, and Had I Not Been an Iraqi I Would Have Become One

The Iraqis, of whom you are a part, you are to be appreciated, you are to be appreciated. I know you well, and sometimes I know you better than myself. I saw your campaign on television, on video, and could not eat my meal that day out of joy. At the same time, due to the exhausting interaction by which you have started to exhaust us through this generosity and splendid sacrifice, if I had not been an Arab I would have become one and had I not been an Iraqi (and the Iraqis are Arabs and Kurds) I would have become one.

#### An Important Example

The Iraqis and the Arabs understand what I say. I do not imagine that anyone expects that there is any sort of xenophobia in that. Not at all. I consider that the model Iraq has offered is an important one alongside other elements which will guide many Arabs toward their true personality, toward their genuine personality which is able to sacrifice, able to bear difficulties, able to build and able to carry the banner of honor forcefully, without hesitation, without fear and without dread, praise be to God for everything.

My greetings to all your brothers who participated in this campaign, not just in my name and in the name of the command but in the name of all Iraqis, great and small, and in the name of the armed forces of men who are now forcefully bearing rifles inside and outside the field of operations which you have prepared. In the name of them all, we thank you and thank everyone who contributed this immortal historic work. God greet you all.

A number of people's poets from the governorates taking part in the campaign read poems at the beginning of the meeting which sang of love for the triumphant commander Saddam Husayn and their lofty readiness to make sacrifice, give up their lives and conquer the impossible so that the soil of Iraq could remain pure and lofty and the mast of the flag of Iraq would stay aloft over the hills and peaks of our prosperous Iraq, and hailed the victories of the blessed soldiers of Iraq on the battlefields and their honorable defense of the precious nation.

Attending the meeting were Mr 'Izzat Ibrahim, vice chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, 1st Staff Lt Gen 'Adnan Khayrallah, deputy commander general of the armed forces and minister of defense, Comrade Mizban Khidr Hadi, member of the regional command and secretary of the office of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party organization of the south, Ahmad Husayn, chief of the office of the president, and 1st Staff Lt Gen 'Abd-al-Jabbar Shanshal, minister of state for military affairs.

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CSO: 4404/219

IRAQ

PRESIDENT DISCUSSES INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

Baghdad AL-'IRAQ in Arabic 21 Jan 86 pp 3, 4

[Article: "Text of the President and Commander Saddam Husayn's Talk During His Meeting with a Group of Mixed Sector Employees"]

[Text] We would like to hear more, so that we can learn about things we must learn about, problems, difficulties, development, the desired support. (One of those present spoke about the problems of the mixed sector.) In answer to that, I can say, why didn't you write about them in the papers and criticize, for example, the conduct of the government through the medium of the laws and the damage to mixed sector activity? For some time I have been instigating citizens wherever they are against the government. The government can commit a crime against a citizen who is a son of Iraq, a son of the people. We have reached a stage where the people who can scheme for personal purposes are now few, and we have said that people can write or point to a mistake and say this is a mistake, the behavior toward such and such a company is a mistake. We have not said that this is conduct in wartime, so that we could say that we are in the circumstances of war and this must not happen. Rather, it is measured by how we can be in a better situation as far as our economic activity goes.

The representative of the agency concerned in the government must also write and answer this statement, which has been made by a specific citizen in the mixed sector and the private sector.

Say that we have such and such a problem with the other ministries, when you see that the particular framework of the government cannot get to their problems as it should, because we are not just demanding the solution of the problem technically -- rather, we are now demanding that we attain the proper awareness and the proper approach for solving our problems. Through awareness, we will not just solve this problem -- rather, it will be an approach toward the solution of other problems which are pending in one area or another.

In a cabinet discussion, we talked about sports, sportsmen, clubs and the formation of clubs. We concluded with a view that the government cannot come and impose its influence on an activity known as sports. We are in an

economy where some operations have engaged in their small peripheral ends and are dominating their activity and controlling it in one way or another are imposing their influence on it. We say that we must leave the small channels, leave them, leave them and leave it to the small boats to enter them, because the ship of the government is large and it must not be jammed into a small channel, because if we do jam it into a small channel it will lose its particular characteristics and destroy the banks of the channel and become broken up at the same time, because we are therefore jamming it forcibly. Therefore, we must let it go into the sea, into the wide rivers; let it go onto the open seas rather than coming and jamming itself into a narrow canal. We have said, give sports scope, so that there can be criticism, that is, in the sense that criticism does not mean that the spectator has a big tongue and just talks -- it means correcting the phenomenon with a suitable alternative. So and so finds that it is in our ability to put our country in a better position in the area of sports, economics and social life through such and such an alternative, and he proounds the alternatives and criticizes the opposite situation. I have told them I am serious with the jester and I spoke with them seriously and told them in our country it is prohibited for someone to form a party outside the framework of the limits that have been drawn up; there are parties within the front and there are parties which have stood alongside the enemies, and now no one can say "I have formed a party" because if he does such a thing, there are cultural laws. All right, let us make people form parties in sports. Why should we be distressed if such and such a national club is formed in al-Karkh and facing it is a national club in al-A'zamiyah, and facing that two clubs in al-Karkh, based on the contributions of the inhabitants and the support of the government, without influence?

Let me go back to the starting point of our subject. Why don't we write about improper phenomena? The media are now hearing me, and I previously directed the media to give the people scope for criticizing economic and social phenomena, since the basis is not for us to sit down on benches or remote areas and for criticism to be made, but rather the critic must be at the heart of life, bearing responsibility and criticizing anything that is firmly connected to improper cases, being part of the atmosphere of the phenomenon or conduct and offering an alternative to the phenomenon or the improper conduct.

This opportunity has been an occasion for me to say that from now on people in the economic sector and the government, we as Iraqi people, some of us are working as employees and some of us are working in specific trades or employed in the private sector, but we are all concerned with the interests of the society to one degree or another. Let us criticize the behavior if it comes from government agencies, and let the government agencies criticize the conduct in the private sector or the mixed sector. If the agencies of the socialist sector have criticisms of the mixed sector, let them sharpen their pencils and write, because you have an economic magazine and your papers, and also the central papers in our country.

We should just avoid personal issues, for instance where so and so has a problem with someone else and starts criticizing him from a personal angle. Let us avoid that. When I say avoid it, we do not have lines of demarcation

between the one and the other, because the person will say that he has criticized a phenomenon. Our country takes everything that is new to it into consideration. In the area of economic life, the construction of massive projects and serious initiatives toward development, we in this country are new with regard to this area in the modern era. We have made sacrifices in it and when we find our way in the economic area we make sacrifices and after that reap the rewards. When we start with the building of a society we make sacrifices and then after that we reap the rewards. This is how life is. We cannot wait for the expertise and integrated knowledge we seek so that we can venture into the arena of life to take form in our midst. Such a situation does not exist as far as man is concerned, because knowledge and expertise take form through accumulation and through direct, living, vital connection with life. We enter the field then gain expertise from it. Of course, we must learn from the people who have taken the steps before us and preserve the vision of the particular features between us and any development which has taken place in the human area. However, we must embark on our experience so that we can form our proper model. Embark on your experience and criticize the weight which is imposed on you by the government agencies which slow down your work as it should be criticized.

Let the private sector criticize, the mixed sector criticize, and the socialist sector criticize the private and mixed sectors. That does not mean that you are declaring war among the sectors; it means that we are forming a high awareness among the members of the society concerning the circumstances, problems, resources and proper approaches to solutions in each of the sectors, so that a state of cooperation will exist, because it is not possible for me to offer aid to the private sector if I have not learned about its concerns and problems and the legitimate methods it wants to have available so that it consequently can increase its productive abilities qualitatively and quantitatively. Likewise the private sector cannot interpret the measures of the government unless it knows about its concerns. Therefore it is necessary that it know about its concerns because the private sector consequently will belong to Iraqi citizens who are concerned with the issue of the central structure of the government and its fate when it learns about the concerns of the government. It bears, and here I mean by bearing that is that it bears mistakes to one extent or another and understands this as a temporary situation which disappears as the cause of it disappears; certainly subsequent activity will compensate it for the opportunities or cases it has lost. Do not hesitate to form an awareness and advance perceptive approaches which will put you in a better situation, I mean put us all in a better situation.

The limits of the sectors in our countries are the limits of areas of specialization in terms of resources and particular characteristics. In the final result, all the activity which exists within the private sector is part of the national wealth and it is of concern to us, just as socialist activity totally is of interest to us, since it expresses a human need which society requires. Therefore it concerns us because it concerns our people; without it our people will live only when this activity is present. Now there are companies in the private sector with capital of more than 3 million dinars, and a citizen can establish a company with capital of 50 million dinars. We are not in opposition and we wish him success. Why shouldn't

we allow him more than 10 percent, because we want to increase the base of shareholders?

I believe that the law you referred to was set out during the period of fear of the private sector, so that no large investment would be made which might develop into a situation harmful to the government's platform. Now, however, this fear does not exist because the government's resources are great and it has totally changed the nature of private activity, its thinking and its view of life in favor of the government.

I want to know something about the system of incentives, if it were left to you to evaluate the system of workers' incentives. The money does not revert to you but to citizens, from the government's organizations. What will reassure us that you will act in a balanced manner with respect to the issue of profits for workers, so that you will make the shareholders profit and also feel that their investment in this field has been feasible and desired? How? Does the board of directors give itself incentives? If we left it to the board of directors to assess the system of incentives, it would give to itself, because it is among those who are covered. If we said that there would be a system of incentives for the mixed sector and after that the board of directors, don't you believe that the board of directors would look after itself as far as the system of incentives it offered was concerned? Leave aside the fact that you are someone who exists at the head of a company, but as a general human condition, where I should guarantee the existence of a system of incentives for the people working in the mixed sector such as exists in the socialist sector, which we have started in the socialist system. Then, in the first place, the mixed sector will form a cover for itself especially as far as the issue of profits is concerned, but here I ask as a general case, there is a point to which we must devote attention, and that concerns the citizen shareholders. Citizens want to invest through the annual profits they receive, and when they lose part of that through a compulsory decree that may leave some anxiety in their spirits concerning the future of the investment. It is always my method to raise problems during a discussion, that is, to raise issues and ask others to talk about them, so that I can as a result see where the complication is and where the proper solution as I see it is. For example, symposia must be held for citizen shareholders and they must be told, "We have this problem, what is your solution?" so that you will always face a self-perpetuating state of profits. That is, we must not always make our decisions in isolation from the medium which benefits or is harmed relatively but must always participate with them and open a discussion and raise a controversy over the subject, so that we will as a consequence create the desired awareness.

Concerning the private sector representatives on boards of directors, how can two private sector representatives reach the board of directors? From you I understand that it is the general body which elects it, that is, the group of stockholders, and these two people are among the biggest stockholders.

I would like to investigate to what extent the government can put pressure on private sector representatives on the board of directors, for example, when the private sector representative on the board of directors is

constantly criticizing economic behavior. Can the government representative exert influence in the coming elections so that this person will not win? Can't he, because I am afraid that they will not be able constantly to raise a proper discussion concerning economic issues, because they are afraid that they will not be re-elected the next time in the elections?

One of you points out that some government decrees have stipulated a maximum for salaries for engineers, employees and retired persons. Why have you made the stipulation if there is a special law regarding it, because the government has its money in the sector and that brings it profits? If it frees the salaries from restrictions, in that case the salaries will come out of the shareholders and the profits of the company, and if the company loses money, who will subsidize it?

Therefore the net profit constitutes the main stockholders' share, and if broad powers are left to the board of directors without stipulations, much could be taken from the share of net profits in the form of appointments and increases in salaries. Isn't that the case?

As regards the board of directors, how are their salaries to be determined? What you have mentioned is not good. Why? Because if it makes a profit or loss, it gets salaries. If it makes a profit of a million, 10 million or 1,000 dinars, it gets 500 dinars or more, but not less. Therefore it is desired that there be a connection between the areas of specialization of the member of the board of directors and the sums paid out to him and profitability and net profits, so that he will feel that he is part of the process as a whole and not a case that is isolated from it and will make a calculation, hold a discussion with an engineer, for example, and tell him this work of yours does not merit my increasing your allocations by 10 percent, because you did not develop your area from the qualitative standpoint. When your production line is developed, I will give you additional allocations and the process will become one of joint cooperation between the board of directors and the most obscure worker present in the company.

There remains the fact that the mixed sector gives workers more wages than the socialist sector, but what advantages does the socialist sector give to others? These are the retirement pensions and other facilities. Nonetheless, the socialist sector will have a system of incentives connected to it not just with respect to productivity; rather, it will also come to have a system of incentives connected to profitability.

I am not concerned with labels in the titles of positions you have so much as I am concerned with the connection between its activity and the company's net profit. These are the government's labels, because you are a mixed sector, and it is not essential that the government labels be applied to you as they are in other activities.

Let us hear any beneficial observation from the private sector.

Everything is equally able to be the line that takes off, but after that the horses must gallop, that is, there will must be a first, second, third, fourth, fifth and last line, and if this is not the case there will be no

rush of enthusiasm among the employees. It would not be bad if we said that we had now formed a mixed sector company where the salary at the beginning for an unskilled worker would be 70 dinars, for example, but after 6 months and 6 years you must have formed among the workers with the same initial qualifications, on the basis of the initial experience, different qualifications in their possession, and we will calculate the differences in qualifications in the ability to express and improve production qualitatively and quantitatively, reflected in an increase in their salaries. Thus it should come about that some workers' salaries should remain at 70 dinars the second year, but one worker will get 90 dinars, then 100 dinars. If this scale does not enter into our calculations, because we have established the mixed sector, whose basic purpose is not just to invest the money in the possession of the citizens in the productive field only, but to use the advantages of freedom that exist in private activity, so that it may be reflected on production in the positive sense, if we do not adopt the benefits of the private sector in this field, our ability to develop may remain limited.

A decree was issued extending the mixed sector to the governorates and not restricting it to Baghdad, after the experiment succeeded, because every new experiment requires the attention of the center and when it is remote from the center there is the possibility that it will fail and there are other reasons regarding services and facilities which also offer them a role in this regard.

The other point is the issue of Baghdad. I am the first person to say that Baghdad must be given unusual weight in terms of services because Baghdad is not Baghdad in its own right, it is the Baghdad of Iraq, and after that, when matters transcend our own borders regarding the view of the Arabs toward Baghdad, the Arabs all have a share in Baghdad because they have a deep historic heritage, not the Baghdad of today, because we did not build a new city after the revolution so that we could say that the history of this city began after the revolution. Rather, the history of Baghdad started when it was founded.

Therefore we owe the Arabs the right, the Moslems the right and the Iraqis the right to give special attention to Baghdad because Baghdad is not just a piece of land, it is profound history, that is, all the Iraqis, from Zakhu to Faw, feel special sentiments toward Iraq which are connected to the accumulation of history in its brilliant periods, as do the Arabs, the Moslems and even the world.

On this basis, we have said that we must develop Baghdad and preserve it as Baghdad, as a place, a name and history. Therefore, Baghdad has received attention from us, and indeed more than that, since perhaps many of my brothers in the command were not wholly in agreement over the magnitude of investments for developing Baghdad after the war broke out, but I said that Baghdad must develop in a distinctive manner while the war is on, because if Baghdad's projects are suspended the opportunity for going back to develop Baghdad as it must be developed may not be available to us for 20 years.

Therefore Baghdad has been developed, and its share is greater than the shares of all the cities of Iraq. It is not permissible for the share of any



of the cities of Iraq to be compared to Baghdad's at all, because Baghdad's share, on the basis of its population, is commensurate with all the cities of Iraq, in addition to its history and its presence as a model. No other city is fit to be a model for all the Iraqis as Baghdad is.

These are the considerations that have prompted us to be concerned with Baghdad, and I believe that all Iraqis feel pride in what is said about Baghdad and its development. If people had come after the war had broken out they would have seen the majesty of your building and the majesty of your fighting, as they see it now when they see Baghdad from the airport and even the hotel. Development is not just restricted to Baghdad; Mosul has developed from what it was before, and al-Hillah also, and other cities of Iraq.

Basrah's development has been suspended because it is a war theater. Nonetheless, we have made a decision in which we said that we cannot end the war and then have Basrah develop. Indeed, the decision has been that we should develop the city of Basrah with the same attention with which we developed the city of Baghdad, and in fact I am directly supervising the development of the city of Basrah as well, because it will be the symbol of Iraq in the southern edges of its borders to all Arabs and foreigners who come visiting and, because the people of Basrah have made distinctive sacrifices, we must devote an obviously distinctive concern to the city of Basrah. We made this statement 3 years ago, and that is that the shares of the men, the shares of the families, the shares of the towns and the shares of the villages will be recorded in the light of the results of the war. We are serious about this statement we are making. It is not a statement we are just uttering without following up on it.

Indeed, the Iraqis who have made distinctive sacrifices in some cities must be given distinctive attention as far as their cities go. This is a right and a duty, and God willing the services everywhere in the land of Iraq will develop along with the concern, activity and struggle of the Iraqis. Therefore, I understand that no industrial project can be profitable unless services are provided for it, that is, the services which reach it are the primary materials and very developed production is taken from it. Unless the services offered to the workers are also developed, so that they can provide it with a developed kind of worker, it will remain backward in its productivity.

Everything existing in our country is in our view to be considered a project as a general policy; if it is considered something other than a project and we are embarrassed by it, why should we establish it? We should, rather, eliminate it. However, only temperaments, possibilities and circumstances remain. Otherwise, if wealth is shameful, why should we let it be shown on television? We should, rather, eliminate it and not let it be shown. Isn't this the case because this is something we are not supposed to do and something that exists as part of our institutions, and as long as we have accepted it, that means that we consider it a legitimate condition? Therefore we must deal with it as a legitimate condition. Each citizen may have his own temperament and taste and might not appreciate working in such and such an institution, and the same with someone else. However, the Ba'thists must work in any place their party assigns to them, because they are the advanced state of consciousness, or so we hope.

I tell you, and 'Abd-al-Wahhab hears, that the president of the Development Organization does not have the right to interfere in the details of your activity, because you have boards of directors and you can evaluate your situation better than others. If he comes and imposes the ministry's point of view, that is something else, but if he imposes his view and his independent thinking, his independent thinking must be subject to discussion, that is, he must enter into debate and dialogue with the board of directors. Does the law give him these powers? If the law does give him these powers, we must restudy the law. As I understand it, the president of the organization transmits the view of the highest body and at the same time forms impressions concerning the activity after offering assistance. His role is to offer facilities for the activity, and when he comes for the sake of individual thinking, he must discuss it in some manner with the boards of directors as individual thinking and the board of directors as a result will therefore decide whether to accept or reject it. When he attends meetings at a higher level in his ministry he discusses his view regarding any phenomenon with his ministry and recommends this view, and when the ministry and the government embrace it, it then assumes the form of a central order, and the matter then has other considerations.

Concerning the countries' position regarding Iraq and dealings with it, Brazil's position is good, but one thing is that as long as the government is a shareholder it does not seek profit abstracted from other factors; rather, the basis of its economic effort is to realize the citizen's interests and, as part of the economic effort, so that it will be continuous, developed and concentrated on serious material resources, the government must make a profit. However, the basic point is not for the government to make a profit, even if the other elements are absent. Here another element enters in, if we ourselves assume a group of four persons, two representing the private sector and two representing the socialist sector, and we want to manufacture an air conditioner, we look to see where the most advanced types of air conditioner in the world are -- are they Japanese, of such a type, American of such a type, French or Brazilian? -- as long as what is required of us is the protection of this type of industry, that is, in the sense that there will be no imports of air conditioners, unless the required need is greater than the production, and the government must be concerned with the interests of the citizen. If the American air conditioner is the best, why should we go to the Spanish air conditioner, for example? Indeed, we should proceed to make a contract with an American company which will facilitate the task of our manufacturing this air conditioner; even when we assume that there is protection we will have offered the citizen the best type.

And not the average type, that is, when we are faced with alternatives that are available. But when we have no alternatives available to us, at that point, when the Spanish air conditioner is provided, let us buy the Spanish one if it is lower in price and no good alternative has been offered to us. Here, let the people working in the mixed sector not forget that the government will intervene to choose the best quality manufacture, because the best quality is connected to the interests of the citizen. However, maintaining things for a period of 3 years is a long time, and if the matter concerns the lack of possibility of providing a certain amount of foreign exchange, let that be, but we must tell the parties concerned this so that no one will

offer interpretations -- that is, we must inform the citizen of the reason which caused us to defer this project, except in rare cases when we do not want to tell him that. Otherwise, in cases such as this, we will tell them that financial circumstances at the present time do not offer this project a chance to constitute part of the priorities. All right, let it be thus, not constituting part of the priorities. Perhaps we can say, let us go to such and such a project and give the American preference over the Japanese, for instance, for the following technical reasons, but we must negotiate with the Americans, because the hard currency in this project should be on a term payment after 1980, because we will perhaps get that after 1980.

Here I will give examples just by way of explanation, that is, my objective is not that we should make our decisions in an atmosphere of secrecy they do not require, because we surround the decisions which require secrecy with the requisite secrecy, and otherwise we tell the people and the beneficiaries. The idea is that we have deferred such and such a decision for the following reasons, so that we can increase the people's awareness and increase their involvement in decisionmaking. Concerning the manufacture of Iraqi television sets, I can say that I have heard from Iraqis that the picture on Iraqi television is clearer and better than other foreign television sets. There is confidence in your manufactures and they are developing, and we are happy with this development and hope that they will develop more and more.

We sometimes import equipment which costs us 50 dinars but when manufactured costs us 50 dinars as well, but we insist on manufacturing because that provides us with expertise which in 5 years will help us reduce its costs, so that its cost will then be 35 dinars and not 50, as previously. That comes from having expertise, as you know. You talk about some circumstances which you are facing. Did they exist before 1982? The answer is no. Therefore we are involved with circumstances of transition. God willing we will transcend these circumstances forcefully and things will once again be as they were, and better. We will content ourselves with this amount of benefit we have derived from your conversation, but I have something to say before you present your gift.

All the people have now understood the theory of the revolution regarding economics and its practical application. At the beginning of the revolution people were introverted, and people who had money were worried about it, on the claim that the Socialist Ba'th Party would take money from the people who had it and give it to others. However, after a while they observed that they had all been robbed and that people did not feel that they had been robbed because they owned money or did not own it; rather, it was just a relative matter, the people who did not own money had been robbed more, and those who did have money had been robbed and to one degree or another exploited the others, but their exploitation was under the burden of a greater form of exploitation from another body, which exploited the whole people. A person who owned 100,000 dinars, for example, could have a million dinars; why just 100,000 dinars? Therefore 900,000 dinars had been stolen from him. Everything had been stolen from the person who owned nothing but after a period of time they observed that the land of Iraq was the same, it had not changed, we had not discovered the presence of additional minerals so that

our economy might be improved, the number of employees who had started to receive salaries in the government had multiplied many times over and the number of workers had multiplied many times over -- so where was this money?

They observed that it was present and that others were stealing it first of all. The most important thief of the money was failure, that is, the failure of the men who administered the government to use the people's abilities in the proper manner, develop these abilities and use the economic abilities in an honest, proper, chaste and effective manner.

The people's capacities and resources increased. They observed that the resources of the workers increased, not because we took from so and so who owned a surplus of a quarter of a million or so and so who owned a surplus of 100,000 dinars, but rather thanks to the process of reviving the dead from the economy and developing it for the better and through our control of our oil resources which had been in the hands of the monopolistic companies in terms of production, export and pricing. They knew that the Ba'th government needed private activity, and we are not just saying that the Ba'th government does not abrogate private activity for technical reasons -- rather, it needs private activity alongside socialist activity, and indeed the party has gone farther than that and to a situation which does not exist anywhere, since it has said that if there is no private socialist enterprise in a specific field, socialist enterprise must create private enterprise there, because in human and economic terms we need this activity as a permanent state and not as a transitory or temporary one. All the facilities which have been offered constitute part of the process of the socialist sector's creation of private enterprise. We would offer every facility to a person opening a new garage before 1982, and you know that. There are people who did not have a piaster, and just wore a gown and half-sandals, and have come to own a lot now. The basic point here is using human abilities in the economic area in the proper manner.

Therefore, when people for example owned something and we told them, Come, you want to work, they said, Yes, I want to work, we would tell them, Work in an organized, proper manner, they would say, Yes, and we would tell them, Be so kind we will offer it the necessary support and work for yourself. That was creating private enterprise, and when we built mixed sector companies that was creating private enterprise because protection is available, support is available and the economic feasibility is favorable. We would tell them, Come, we will bear the risks along with you, just come and invest.

Our government is in the peaceful, interacting coexistence among sectors which we have spoken about, which will be permanent and exist in the future. I personally believe in this form. Private enterprise cannot operate exclusively in life, and socialist enterprise cannot operate exclusively in life. If both operate exclusively in life by themselves, they will not realize their objectives.

Socialist [enterprise] will not realize its human objectives and private enterprise, if it operates exclusively in life, has its well known bad points. I am not standing on ceremony on this subject, but their coexistence

will realize human happiness, and the person who profits will profit. However, the person who benefits from this activity will be happy whether it is socialist enterprise or private enterprise. Indeed, I can almost say that they will both realize a socialist objective as a result, because they will both be meeting human needs in accordance with an acceptable context which is satisfactory in terms of socialist principles.

We have reached a state of respect which we needed as Iraqis, which is the feeling of every person, even those engaged in private enterprise, that he has been serving the nation. In the past, there was a situation in opposition to the public, taking a particular view of the person engaged in private enterprise, and the person engaged in private enterprise would take a view of the public. The socialist sector would take a particular view of private enterprise and private enterprise would take a particular view of the socialist sector. Now this state, God be praised, in general -- of course this does not mean that there are not mistakes here and there in socialist enterprise or in private enterprise -- but in general the state of conflict has disappeared and has been replaced by a state of cooperation, which is the state that serves our country and will serve our country now and over a period of decades, God willing.

I have a point to which many people perhaps have not been attentive, but I am attentive to it as a politician, which is that now in the West in general small companies are being obliterated and their place is being taken by big companies, and expansion is now taking place to the point where what are called multinational corporations exist. Why has this transformation occurred in the economy in general? I do not want to perform research on everything, but I do want to get to a point. I can tell Iraqis in the three sectors, the mixed, the socialist and the private, in the past there was a sort of relative stability in terms of human needs, according to the qualitative and quantitative rate of development. We would see 20 requirements occurring repeatedly over 10 years in the case of someone from al-Anbar, someone from Takrit, or someone from al-Mishkhab, or it would become 21 requirements. That is, the details of his life would be limited and increase slowly, for example, from ashtrays, by name and type, to telephones, television sets, rifles and so on. With time, especially after World War Two, that is, after 1950, development in economic life in general and in the technical area of it in particular started to be rapid, and the details of life which amounted to something started to increase. This need was a relative matter; I consider that this ashtray represents an important need in my home, but a worker in al-Rumadi glass might not consider it an important thing in his home. Requirements started to grow numerous and the names of things started to change every year. For example, this ashtray would at one point be offered in a white color, at one point would be offered in a green color, at one point in a red color, and at one point in all colors, and a person would have one white one in his home, but the concept of consumption has expanded so that people have white ashtrays but want to buy ashtrays of all colors, for example, or want to have a bicycle in their homes but want to buy tricycles for their small sons, because tricycles have been offered on the markets and in their homes a type of these sofas have been present in their homes but they have observed another kind offered in the market and want to buy one.

In the West, because of their theory, they believe that the more humans' needs proliferate, the more they exhaust themselves in intellectual and physical activity in order to work to provide more money so that they can own what exists and replace what exists in accordance with their economic view. The absence of relative stability in product type for a reasonable period has accelerated replacement and has made the company that produces this type of machinery or requirement -- after the second year, when we notice another type offered on the market produced by another company competing with it which is more developed than the kind it has produced, if it does not develop itself it will be crushed. What is the thing that develops products? It is research. If one does not spend seriously on research one cannot develop production in a manner which will keep abreast of the process of diverse numerous production which is offered on the international market, and small companies cannot spend as much on research as the big production companies spend on it. The big production companies always offer a type which is an improvement over the type the small production companies offer.

Therefore private enterprise in a country which has financial resources and offers it support so that it can stand on its feet to face the constant turnover in requirements which can assault it from abroad is fortunate. A day will come when we are offered cheaper better-quality things than the imported ones private enterprise offers. In Iraq, private enterprise is fortunate, and I believe in accordance with my conception and individual thinking that as long as private activity enjoys a sincere relationship with the government it will lose much in the face of this element alone, if we take it by itself. It is sufficient for us to come up with this conclusion.

Therefore, I aspire, in the future, for us to develop research centers with one another and not to content ourselves with the resources of the private sector alone. Rather, we should come to the owner of such and such a company and tell him, Your product so-and-so is backward, and he should come and complain to the Ministry of Industry and tell them, My production has become backward and I cannot compete in the market with imported production; come, help me with the research so that it will develop. Unless the government intervenes with him to develop his production, I believe that he will not be able to keep going properly.

Therefore, the formula of support for the private sector, regardless of all its other advantages, this aspect has a great advantage, which is that a large investor like the government can stand by itself, investing 51 shares, investing a complete amount, and 2,000 citizens can invest 49 shares. This is a very important thing. It is qualitatively and quantitatively reflected in production and consequently on the citizen's profit over the long term. Therefore, I say that the government has a responsibility toward private enterprise, to help it develop its production, because we are faced with an equation. We want the accumulation of expertise here in the field of industry and in all fields to increase and at the same time we do not want the Iraqi citizen to feel pain when Iraqi production is compared with foreign production, because our country is open. Iraqis travel to Germany, the Soviet Union, America and France and compare everything they see in their country with the other countries. Some Iraqis forget the origins of development, forget that the origin of development in their country began decades ago while development in other countries began centuries ago.

Therefore we want private enterprise to develop, but private enterprise must help us by not taking a short-term view of profit.

For example, it is stipulated that it should get half a million dinars' profit. Fine, let it develop its production; there is a possibility it will get a profit of a million dinars instead of half a million dinars. However, instead of getting that profit in 2 years and then closing its factory because it is becoming obsolete, let it get a profit of 4 million dinars in 5 years in order to develop its production so that can stay abreast of development.

This point, my brothers, in the private and mixed sectors, I would like to have explained to your brother workers so that they will fully help us in the way we can help develop their work and production qualitatively and quantitatively, because the society needs it and because the socialist government of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party needs this pattern of production and this pattern of production now and in the future. May God give you life.

Mr Tariq Hamad al-'Abdallah, the minister of light industries, gave a talk in which he stressed that the president and commander's ideas and directives formed a firm basis for the course of construction and achievements and a powerful, great incentive for people working in the sector and connected with it to attain the indices and positive elements that have been achieved.

He said, "Sir, you have given industrial construction in our country the utmost attention and since the takeoff of the revolution you have worked to support industrial development, increase its investments in various branches and prepare the requirements for its diversification, prosperity and implantation on scientific foundations."

The minister renewed the pledge to the president and commander in the name of the people working in this sector to remain soldiers true to the accurate execution of his excellency's guidelines and the development of our national industries in a manner which will strengthen the confidence of consumers in it and strengthen their role as industries in our domestic economy.

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ISRAEL

ARAB AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT AMNON KAPELIUK INTERVIEWED

Tel Aviv MONITIN in Hebrew No 90, Mar 86, pp 18-21, 86-88

[Article by Ran Edelist: "Amnon of Arabia"]

[Text] The way things were going toward the 1980's and Amnon Kapeliuk's 50's, he was slated to grow old in the God-forgotten anonymity of AL HAMISHMAR, as its Arab affairs correspondent.

Once in a while he would come up with some news item, and the item was duly filed away as is the way with all godless newspapers. Kapeliuk himself had no expectations from AL HAMISHMAR, aside from the pension whose time was approaching with the soundless steps of a cruel fact of life, and worked on a marginal Ph.D. thesis on Arab sects in Christian communities, or Christian sects in Muslim communities, while taking care of his two daughters and two cats, reading all the Arab press, listening to all the Middle Eastern radio stations, and generally agreeing with everything his wife Olga was angrily saying about the awful social and political situation in Israel.

And then several events occurred that caused Kapeliuk's lifestyle, which was proceeding at the slow pace of an old and familiar house shoe, to suddenly sprint at a dramatic speed toward what appeared as the average peak of local success.

Kapeliuk, the insignificant correspondent of an insignificant newspaper, began to star on the front pages of YEDI'OT AHARONOT in the pose of a Marco Polo, visiting and discovering Arab countries which for most Israelis existed on the dark side of the moon or at least beyond the Valley of Death. A visit by an Israeli to any of them was viewed at the least as the prophet Yehezkel's descent to the lions' den, and there was Kapeliuk going there and coming back, telling stories, and even reporting on a regular basis on the life of Jewish communities, when the visit itself was news, not to mention the bonus of the political and educational significance and all the rest.

Kapeliuk, the plump, carelessly dressed man with the French scarf that used to get caught in the most unlikely places, frayed trouser pockets, and the small comb flashing out every time an imaginary wind ruffled his blond mane. This Kapeliuk, who would have managed to be late for his own Brit Mila [circumcision ceremony], was of course late for all the interviews I set with



him, not to mention the fact that he was also late for the interview arranged for him with 'Arafat during the very days of the war. And that is how he appears in colored photographs on the front pages of YEDI'OT AHARONOT, in smudged pictures taken by American tourists, and in pictures taken with all sorts of Arab leaders casting suspicious and astonished glances at this Israeli who slaps them on the shoulder with the familiarity and enthusiasm of a distant cousin arriving for a family reunion as if there were no Arab-Israeli conflict in the world.

In recent times, perhaps under the influence of his meteoric rise to international journalistic realms, he has acquired for himself a military raincoat, a sort of Middle Eastern reply to the safari shirts of the American media stars. Upon going into a Parisian boutique to have it dyed from Vietnam green to desert brown, the boutique owner told him what Ron Ben-Ishay told him 1 week later: "You swiped it from the IDF, did you not?"

Of course, Kapeliuk did not get up one morning, abandon his AL HAMISHMAR basement position of more than 25 years, travel to Jordan or Sudan and meet with 'Arafat or George Habash, and of course, he did not slip into the interstellar lane by mistake, as may have been construed from the first lines of this article. Kapeliuk worked on himself and on his path and developed the correct amount of connections, knowledge, drive, political involvement, and naturally, luck, which is as important for a journalist as for a general.

After 1967 he began to substitute for Andre Samama, the permanent correspondent of LE MONDE in Israel. LE MONDE was for Europe what HA'ARETZ was for Israel in terms of being charged with the sacred honor of political expression, until all the editorial staffs here went crazy and turned into whores and bastards. Samama was the second permanent correspondent after Philippe Ben, who had been the first. At the time, Israel became a subject of daily reporting, and when he went to Paris with Samama (the father of Dan Samama), he asked Kapeliuk to replace him. Kapeliuk said, "My French is not all that hot," and Samama said, "It will do."

"I liked it," said Kapeliuk, "because it meant starting in at the top."

Additionally, he was allowed to write articles for LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, a respected supplement of the respected newspaper, and that is where began Kapeliuk's romance with Eric Rouleau, the editor of LE MONDE's Middle Eastern desk, who took Kapeliuk under his wing. There may have been a political link here, too, because Rouleau and Kapeliuk were both leftists while Samama was more to the right. In any event, Kapeliuk's standing at LE MONDE strengthened, and he consciously went on to do his doctorate in French, of all languages, in order to master the language, fluent as he was in English, Hebrew, and Arabic.

Kapeliuk is not only the son of a journalist, but also the son of an Arab affairs correspondent.

His father, Menahem, was DAVAR's Arab affairs correspondent until he retired some 15 years ago, when he was replaced by Ehud Ya'ari.

"I actually wanted to work for DAVAR," says Kapeliuk. I loved DAVAR. That is where I grew up. My brother Oded and I used to go to the printing room and beg to be allowed to stamp our names in lead, then go home, dip it in ink, and stamp all our exercise books. We grew up with the smell of lead, we used to bring father's articles and items to the editor, and everyone knew us." But the Histadrut regulations did not permit the father to work in such proximity to the son for fear of preferential treatment and nepotism, and young Kapeliuk in 1954 began working as Arab affairs correspondent for OMER: "Actually, I did not mind seeing my name spelled with all the script dots," he says drily about his work there.

That was after his military service in the tanks and intelligence, and after working as a translator of press material, during which time he also learned Arabic at the university and graduated from the Oriental Studies Institute, where his father had also studied, with the same teachers even, so that one may say that from his earliest memories, Kapeliuk lived among Arab radio broadcasts and press cuttings, and his professionalism is more a lifestyle than a trade. Kapeliuk is not a sentimental man, but there is a certain softness in his voice when he says "my father," and "my father worked odd jobs to finance my studies," and "to this day I find in my writings expressions that my father used to use," and "father was a left-wing 'Zion activist,' and that is how I came to join MAPAM and to work for AL HAMISHMAR, after the time I put in for OMER."

That was 30 years ago, and young Kapeliuk began working as a fully fledged Arab affairs correspondent at the time of the Military Administration at the domestic level, and the time of 'Abd-al-Nasir and pan-Arabism at the international level.

He did his job according to his lights, that is to say, he sharply criticized the Military Administration and appreciated 'Abd-al-Nasir as the uplifter of Arab pride. That attracted the anger of the rightist circles among the Kibbutz Artzi, which incessantly pursued him because of his excessive leftist tendency. They finally neutralized him in the latter years of his work, as he was overtly accused of PLO sympathies.

It would be too facile to say that his identification with the rights of the Palestinians was the psychological conditioning of a person who closely identifies with the subject of his work. The division into pro and anti Palestinian is part of a more general moral division and of a political-national perception that transcends the narrow professional framework, and Kapeliuk who, not surprisingly, is also ultra unreligious, was prepared, in consequence of his closeness to his topics, not only to identify with them, but also to think one step ahead. In 1971 a war game was held at AL HAMISHMAR, in which Kapeliuk played Egypt, Me'ir Pa'il the Soviet Union, Yisra'el Granit Israel, and Dan Patir the United States.

Kapeliuk: "In this war game I did exactly what the Egyptians did in the Yom Kippur war. I broke through the Bar-Lev line and inflicted heavy losses on the Israelis. I said then: This is the only thing that Egypt can still do and they will do it, especially because the Israelis are locked into an erroneous concept concerning them. After the Yom Kippur war, at the journalists' annual

meeting at which a debate was held among the Arab affairs correspondents, it was Ehud Ya'ari who expressed his regret for having adopted the views of military intelligence, and added that only one person refused to accept it, and that was Amnon Kapeliuk."

[Question] Do you have a political opinion on the Palestinian subject?

Kapeliuk: "Of course. I never doubted that we have here a Palestinian-Arab people separate from the other Arab nations, and that they have a right to this country just like we, the Jews, do, and that they are entitled to realize this right. If politics is the correct and just understanding of reality, then I do have a political opinion."

In view of the fact that journalistic objectivity died on the day that Moses broke the tables of the law, there is an ongoing game in which each of the political sides claims objectivity, and Kapeliuk joins this game as part of his marketing campaign, placed as he is under the magnifying glass of the public eye at YEDI'OT AHARONOT: "Of course I am objective. I am an objective writer. Look here, a few years ago BAMAHAANE asked the Arab affairs correspondents how they can be objective at a time of war and someone, whose name I do not want to cite, said: I see myself as a soldier in combat. I, on the other hand, said: I see myself as a journalist who must report precisely what he sees and write what he understands--and that is why, when in 1967 I first brought to the attention of the French, and actually of the Europeans and perhaps of the entire world, the fact that there are hawks and doves in Israel and that the country is not one block as it was thought, I think that I did Israel a great service by serving the truth."

[Question] How does Israel appear in the eyes of your Palestinian clients, after they have lived with the Turks, the English, Husayn, and al-Asad?

Kapeliuk: "As the worst of the lot, because they do what no ruler and conqueror ever did in the past: they seize land."

[Question] When did you discover the Palestinian problem?

Kapeliuk: "I was always aware of their situation, but after the Six-Day War the problem became acute not only for me, but also for them and for the entire world--aside, of course, from the Israelis, who were subjected to governmental brainwashing Golda-style: there are no Palestinians."

Before discovering the Palestinians, Kapeliuk discovered 'Abd-al-Nasir. At a time when 'Abd-al-Nasir was the worst enemy of the State of Israel and of the Jewish people since Hitler, Kapeliuk saw him as the man who had restored to the Arabs their lost pride and who could bring peace and quiet to the Middle East. His colleagues at AL HAMISHMAR--despite all the peace, brotherhood, and socialism that was their domain in the journalistic world--were ready to wrap Kapeliuk up in the newspaper pages in which he rated 'Abd-al-Nasir according to his own objective yardstick, and to hand him a one-way ticket to Egypt.

Upon 'Abd-al-Nasir's death Kapeliuk wrote: "He had achievements and failures, but history will remember him as the man who lifted up Arab heads. History,"

Kapeliuk wrote at the time, "will change in the wake of the death of the Ra'is [president], and the Israeli-Arab conflict will change with it."

When he heard about 'Abd-al-Nasir's death on the radio he was so shocked that his wife Olga found him standing by the radio with an ashen face. "Hear what happened?" he asked her, "'Abd-al-Nasir is dead!"

In April 1970, at the peak of the war of attrition, Kapeliuk was already Andre Samama's permanent replacement at LE MONDE and very close to Eric Rouleau, and it was in the latter's home that the idea of a meeting between Nahum Goldman and 'Abd an-Nasir was born. At the time that was a tremendous breakthrough and would have sent shockwaves to calcified systems, and the proof of that was that in the end the initiative was torpedoed by Golda Me'ir and Galili, who were not built to digest it. 'Abd-al-Nasir himself was willing to meet with the president of the World Jewish Congress and one of the most prominent Zionists, and he appointed Ahmad Hamrush, "a moderate leftist," according to Kapeliuk, to deal with the matter. Hamrush was one of the 12 free officers responsible for the Egyptian revolution, and Kapeliuk went to Paris at Rouleau's invitation to meet with Hamrush and to be the first Israeli journalist to cover the meeting. Had the meeting been held, it is possible that Kapeliuk would have joined the world of media stars 10 years earlier; be that as it may, he was very excited about his first meeting with an Arab personality of such standing.

A few months earlier Rouleau had interviewed 'Abd-al-Nasir in Cairo, and the latter for the first time listed his conditions for peace with Israel. He spoke about the problem of the refugees--"at the time the Palestinians were still referred to as refugees" --and about the liberation of the occupied territories in return for full peace. After some bargaining, the Egyptians allowed Rouleau to print only a portion of the interview, the idea being to allow the revealed part to act as an informal ground feeler. Kapeliuk, who had heard the entire tape at Rouleau's house, was shaken; in addition, Rouleau had added some personal commentary along the lines of "If the Israelis move toward compromise, 'Abd-al-Nasir can bring the other Arab countries with him." While the bells of peace were still ringing in Kapeliuk's ear, the door bell rang and Ahmad Hamrush appeared.

Kapeliuk: "I was very excited, and so was Hamrush. But then we sat and talked. At one point, after about 1 hour, I opened my notebook and wrote down something. I saw Hamrush peeking curiously, and he said: 'Er... you, too, write from right to left?' And he was an educated man, himself author of a few books, and minister of culture and theater after the revolution. I was stunned. I said to him: 'You know why you lost the Six-Day War? Because you know nothing about us. Nothing.' That really came out unintentionally. He was rather taken aback, and so was I; then he said, 'Yes, we are aware of the fact and are now trying to do something about it. We already have some people learning Hebrew.'"

After that meeting preparations were set underway for the main meeting--until the story was leaked and reached none other than Andre Samama, who brought it out in LE MONDE, and in so doing in fact blew up the idea of the meeting. How did the story reach Andre Samama, who was not supposed to know about it?!

Kapeliuk turns his big-eyed innocent face as if he could never guess what happened there. Someone at LE MONDE? Israeli services? Egypt? CIA? CBS? Si, senor? How can anyone know what happens in the shadowy world of Israeli and international journalism?

Who can tell who is working for whom, why, and in exchange for what.

I myself remember Kapeliuk torpedoing a meeting between Sartawi and Yosi Sarid, and when I remind him of that he is genuinely surprised to hear such a thing. About Kapeliuk himself it is said that he is a PLO agent or a KGB agent, driven by ambition, adventurism, fame, career, and money, and he hears all these accusations with the real satisfaction of one who has managed to fool the whole world, except that behind the soft and pleasant expression he puts on between one slightly bewildered smile to the next, and behind the normal pattern that motivates all of us, Kapeliuk hides the hardness of a doctrinaire--even though his doctrine is freedom, secularity, and unrealistic Jewish-Arab justice, and that is what leads him from purely objective journalism to grossly small-scale politics in his journalistic pursuits, what marks his journalistic career, and what makes his colleagues peer with daggers in their eyes through the windows of Bet Sokolov to see him hurry about in the palace of the Jordanian king, exchange entertaining gossip with his master of ceremonies, and cook up for himself and for YEDI'OT a lollipop the size of an intercontinental missile.

[Question] So how do you get to all those holes in the wall?

Kapeliuk: "Oh, that is very simple. I went to the Jordanian embassy in Paris, put my French passport on the table, and asked for a visa. According to the Arab boycott regulations, which bind all the Arab countries, Israelis are not permitted to enter any Arab country, except Egypt, but they all know of course that I am an Israeli, writing for an Israeli paper, and I take good care to say it clearly. What one needs for this is not only a passport, but also credentials from a foreign newspaper; needless to say, I do not lay on the table of the Jordanian embassy a letter from Dov Yodkowsky saying, 'please assist our envoy, with thanks, I remain,' but naturally they all know who they are dealing with; for years I have been writing for LE MONDE and LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE articles that are sent from Jerusalem, there is no secret here, and certainly not for the Jordanians. From my hotel in Amman I called YEDI'OT directly to report about the cabinet changes in Jordan. I spoke Hebrew, of course, and later, because of the time difference, I called LE MONDE and reported to them, too, and that is when I heard the switchboard operator shout to someone: 'Hey, call Yusuf, he switched from Hebrew to French,' so, you see, there are no secrets."

[Question] If, 1 week before your travel to Jordan you had published an article attacking the king and 'Arafat, do you think that you would have received the visa and the hospitality?

Kapeliuk: "There is, of course, a third thing, which I do not hide. For years I have been known as one who understands the viewpoint of the other side, and when my side needs to be criticized, I do not hesitate to do so; naturally that speaks for me as a journalist who is not one-sided."

In 1976 his wife Olga got a job as a teacher of Amharic--Gez--of all languages, at the Sorbonne University and Kapeliuk, who is a genuine liberal pessimist totally lacking in any Israeli machismo, joined her with the greatest naturalness, in order to "live on my wife's earnings" as he describes his 3-year stay in France. He, of course, did not devote himself entirely to tourism, despite all its culinary and educational attractions, but also engaged in light journalism, and developed a wide network of contacts from which he profits to this very day.

[Question] How did you arrange to obtain a French passport?

Kapeliuk: "Oh, that is very simple. The French citizenship law says that a person who graduates from a university can receive French citizenship without the 5-year residence period. I went to the French Ministry of the Interior, showed my diploma, which was excellent, probably because I had a very boring 450-page thesis on which I had worked for 7 years, mostly upon the unknowing charity of AL HAMISHMAR; and after I gave them all the papers, they asked me if I had resided in France uninterruptedly since receiving the doctorate. Since that was not the case, I had to bring a whole bunch of letters of recommendation, and only then did they give me a French passport. I would say that my life has changed dramatically since then, not because of the French citizenship, but because of the passport which permits me to go to places where an Israeli passport shuts doors, and that is not only the Arab countries."

[Question] For example, Albania?

Kapeliuk: "Albania is another story. For 3 years I had tried to penetrate the gates of this mysterious country, the tightest closed in the world, and found out that on an average, Albania receives three journalists a year, and even those must be from friendly countries. Every few months I would show up at the Albanian embassy in Paris, where they would give me an excellent arak and salty almonds and suggest that I do not lose hope. Once I was sitting with Costa Gavras, the director, who is a good friend and in whose movie I appeared, and I said, 'Oh, Albania, Albania, I am dying to go there,' and he says, 'I have an idea: do a week of Albanian movies for the Parisian Cinemateque.' Gavras had been appointed director of the Cinemateque after the socialists came to power, and thanks to him I was elected to serve on the board of directors of the Cinemateque--to this day I have a voting right there. Well, I went again to the Albanian embassy and suggested the idea to them, and they said, 'Bring an official letter.' I brought an official letter, and a few months later I was landing in the capital of Tirana. Not in an Albanian plane, of course, because they do not have an airline. They say nobody comes or leaves anyway, and the weekly flight schedule, which shows three flights, is written in chalk on a board at one of the city's two hotels.

"The truth is that I am a travel addict. I am convinced that I am a much better tourist than journalist. You know, I am considered an expert on Middle East affairs and I receive quite a lot of invitations. If the invitation comes from Switzerland, London, Brussels, or such places, I automatically turn it down, but if it comes from Sao Paolo, Barbados, Indonesia... I was invited to

Washington, and instead of payment I took tickets to Panama and Colombia. I was invited to Canada, and I took a tour of Alaska in lieu of payment."

[Question] Who sends out invitations to Indonesia, and for what purpose?

Kapeliuk: "There was a nice UN meeting there on the Middle East to which I was invited. First I dealt with matters concerning the meeting, then I turned to the really serious matter of a thorough visit. Each place has its approach formula: Cambodia, Laos, Singapore, Macao, India, Madagascar, Senegal, .pa Ethiopia, the Carribean Islands, Martinique--politics is a very engrossing subject, I would say."

The only person who makes Kapeliuk feel small is Didi Menussy, who is also a one-man travel agency; but Kapeliuk has the advantage of a foreign passport, which shows 98 take-offs from Israel and 73 countries, which include every name that you can think of and then some. At times Kapeliuk's travel bug assumes the nature of a compulsion to learn and to go into the smallest details. Once he traveled by car from Paris to Berlin just to see an exhibition of modern art, on which he is an expert; in his house he has shelves upon shelves of art books and catalogues. He believes he knows Paris better than his home town, Jerusalem. While he was living there at his wife's expense, he took the two detailed guides to Paris, the Michelin and the Blue Guide, and simply walked the city street by street, museum by museum, building by building almost, and restaurant by restaurant: "It is true that I studied the restaurants of Paris rather in depth, but to complete such a study you need a whole lifetime. There are thousands of restaurants there, and they are all good. Even if a restaurant looks fourth class it has to be good, because you cannot fool the French in matters of food. If you cannot cook, you are closed down within the week. But I also like Chinese cooking, in the Chinese, not Thai, version. And Spanish cuisine, but I was most taken with Japanese cuisine. There are hundreds of ways to prepare sushi, and in Israel there is not even one restaurant that can do it properly."

The last time he returned from Sudan the YEDI'OT AHARONOT readers saw him and the new ruler of Sudan staring into the camera side by side. The new ruler looks as if at that very moment he remembered that his deposed predecessor, Ja'far Numayri, was removed because of, among other things, excessive closeness to circles close to Israel which were involved in bringing Ethiopian Jews to Israel through Sudan. Kapeliuk tells Olga that her talents as a photographer are disputable, so come on, take the picture already, and the results are of the quality of Bar Mitzva photographs. In order to avoid the embarrassing incident that happened to him upon his return from Yemen, the historic visit of an Israeli and a Jew after 30 years of closed community life, Kapeliuk brings two films to YEDI'OT. One is burnt, because he thought he was taking black and white pictures while he had slide film in the camera, or perhaps the other way round, he does not remember, and the other is partly fuzzy because he could not remember the function of all the switches on the back of his black box; anyway, these days Yodkowsky sends him to take photography classes just in case al-Asad or some remote Jewish tribe pop up on one of his travels to some Persian Gulf emirate whose name only Shaykh Zaki al-Yamani can properly pronounce in the western world.

At some point Kapeliuk's travels diverge from the framework of YEDI'OT's war against the entire Israeli press, or even from Kapeliuk's own race to the top. His visits have a genuine political effect, at least from an intellectual viewpoint. As much as YEDI'OT wants scoops and Kapeliuk wants success, adventure, a good exhibition, and a satisfying meal, the main point of the visits and investigation is the human touch brought to the relations poisoned by hatred and frozen by lack of understanding and fear, between us and the Arabs. From this viewpoint Amnon Kapeliuk is a one-man Foreign Ministry. His services are all the more valuable at a time when the Israeli Foreign Ministry is based on three elements: bureaucratic clerical work, management by a former Mosad man, and the rule of the Likud top leadership. Such a combination can perhaps bring about war between Switzerland and Luxembourg, but it certainly cannot bring about a breakthrough between us and the Arabs, so that in this respect Kapeliuk and Yadkowsky enjoy the rights of holders of the flame--although at times they are holding the flame with bare hands. As in the case of Kapeliuk's trip to Jordan, after which he was brought to court by the legal adviser.

Kapeliuk: "I do not understand why the legal adviser decided to bring me to court on a minor technicality, while at the same time allowing Kahane to live as a legitimate public figure. If Zamir had harassed Kahane from trial to trial he would not have made it to the Knesset and founded a movement. Look what Zamir himself has to say, according to Moshe Hanegbi's book about the press: 'The freedom of expression is first and foremost among all freedoms,' says Zamir, 'upon which both human dignity and democratic government are built.'"

Kapeliuk reads this from Hanegbi's book and his voice loses its smile.

"Look what Zamir himself says: 'In order to preserve the value of freedom of speech, one must be prepared to hear opposed views, too,' and he says that 'One must take a certain risk in order to hear things that may be interpreted as a deviation and one must not hasten to put the police and the courts into motion'--and that he says about Kahane, while sending me to trial?!"

Kapeliuk is really hurt, and in an irrelevant comparison between the intensity of the insult and the pleasure of a Parisian restaurant, the hurt wins and he says: "Zamir's responsibility for the Kahane phenomenon is a historic responsibility that he has to bare. Had he taken action in time, we would not have lived to see Kahane in the Knesset."

The problematic aspect of Kapeliuk's journalistic/political/social/adventuristic activities are his contacts with leaders of terrorist organizations, according to military terminology; terrorism in Israeli terminology, liberation in Palestinian terminology, or in short, the gang that was to have emerged from the hijacked Libyan airplane. Kapeliuk has contacts with all of them, from 'Arafat to Abu Iyad, Abu Jihad, Faruq al-Qaddumi, through Jibril and down to Hawatimah and Habash, including a missed talk and interview with Abu Musa at one of the PLO conferences before the bloody incident in Tripoli between 'Arafat and the Syrians, who were supporting Abu Musa. Kapeliuk, who had been asked to approach him, allowed him to pass by without taking a hold of his kafiyah, and he is still kicking himself for it.



This story is more than just "problematic," because generally, nations do not really mean to wage unlimited war to the last of their enemies unless they are completely crazy, like the Germans in World War II who decided to annihilate the Jews in the air, on the ground, and on the high seas. Usually, both sides realize what they generally knew from the beginning: that it is impossible to utterly destroy one another, and then contacts to end the war develop in parallel to the fighting. This is still not the stage at which the sides say oh, what a dumb war, and what a shame about all the blood and the dead, but only the stage at which more and more people quietly ask themselves how to get out of the mess. The politicians are not capable of taking the first step because only the day before they were sending children to die in the name of ideals from which there is no withdrawal--not to mention the next elections--and the generals cannot take the first step because they need every ounce of energy and motivation to kill and kill efficiently, and here is where comes the great hour of the Kapeliuks, Avneris, Mati Peleds, Maxim [Gilans], Jane Fondas, al-Sartawis, each with the large shadow of betrayal attached to him, and each with his own support system. In Kapeliuk's case, it is Dov Yudkowsky who gives him a free hand and tickets, thereby securing for himself--perhaps--a place in history as part of the thawing process.

In the meantime, Kapeliuk has met with the entire gang that was expected to come out of the Libyan plane with their hands up; the beginning occurred in August 1982, during the siege of Beirut, when he went to interview 'Arafat for LE MONDE.

Kapeliuk: "I was told that 'Arafat was prepared to receive me as an Israeli. I traveled to east Beirut; our forces were bombing and shelling something terrible; I called his spokesman, who said I should come, but I went home. I was simply scared, and I returned home defeated. One month later I went again with Milan Kubrik from NEWSWEEK."

The two entered west Beirut through the Museum Passage, left the IDF escorting officer at Hotel Alexander, and passed through seven roadblocks, belonging to the IDF, the Murabitun, the Lebanese forces, the Lebanese army, the PLO, and the Syrian army, after which Kapeliuk called the spokesman and said, 'I have come to interview 'Arafat,' to which the reply was: 'Arafat gives interviews only at night.' Kapeliuk told Kubrik: 'I have to return to the escorting officer. As far as you are concerned, they may take away your governmental press card, but I am an Israeli and I must go back.'

Kapeliuk: "I told the PLO spokesman: 'I am sorry,' and he said, 'Do what you think right,' and once again I went back feeling like a bird had dropped on my head. At the beginning of August I was invited to a seminar at the London Institute of Strategic Studies, and LE MONDE informed me that 'Arafat was expecting me in Beirut. I was with Olga and with one of my daughters, and was planning to travel to Scotland, but I went back to Beirut for the third time, and back to Hotel Alexander; it was precisely the time of the big battle for the museum. I waited until the telephone lines were restored, and then I was told that everything was alright. In the meantime it emerged that I needed a pass from the Phalanges; so I went with a LE MONDE correspondent to the quarantine, to the Phalanges, and got such a pass, and began to cross the

roadblocks to west Beirut. On the way I saw an IDF colonel standing there and looking at me with interest, then he started moving toward me, so I told the driver, 'Go! Go!' And he simply put his foot on the gas and drove off. I went to the hotel Qabaliyah where the French newsmen lived; there were terrible Air Force bombings at the time. 'Arafat had stopped giving interviews, saying: 'We have said everything we had to say. We are willing to evacuate, these are our conditions, and now we are ready to meet our fate.' I contacted him and he agreed to receive me immediately. I was told that usually he gives interviews after midnight, and that I should wait at the hotel.

"At 1930 I met Walid Junblatt, whom I knew from before, and we said a warm hello and how are you, and he invited me to his palace for a beer, and we all agreed that before midnight there was no chance of catching 'Arafat, so I went to have a beer with Junblatt and the LE MONDE permanent correspondent in west Beirut. Actually the correspondent told me not to be a fool and to wait for the interview, but I preferred to take a chance and went to drink beer on Junblatt's patio. We sat with our cans of beer, watched the Air Force planes bomb not far away, and I returned at 2100, 2130, and saw a frightful commotion around the hotel. Everyone was looking for Kapeliuk and thinking I had been kidnapped, because I had not told anyone anything, and they told me 'hakhtiar' (the old man) has been waiting for you for 1 hour. They shoved me into a car and started driving around through alleys, after which we went down to a basement; there I met him and Abu Walid, his chief of staff, and he shook my hand, and said, 'I have been waiting for you for 1 hour,' and I stuttered something and what came out of my mouth was that my friend said that he could not find cigars, and 'Arafat forgot all about my being late and lit up: 'What, the Israelis think we have no cigars? We have everything! At which hotel is your friend? What kind of cigars does he smoke? You will have everything!'

"Since then I have added to my credit, or discredit, some 25 hours of talks with 'Arafat, at all sorts of places, in Algiers, Tunis, and Amman. I think he has charisma among his people, and among his people his word is the final word. Generally he told me, you Israelis are simply stupid if you think you can destroy the will of the Palestinian people through bullets and shells. I offer you peace, if you give us what is coming to us. Even if you kill all of us here, others will continue to fight for their country. He repeated what they always say, that until Palestinians have a passport, an anthem, a flag, and a stamp like all the other nations, they will not rest, and he also said that Sharon was simply dumb and was dragging the Israelis after him.

"I asked him if the Palestinians had not also contributed to the hopeless warfare, and he told me that he thought their mistake laid in the fact that they did not know how to explain themselves to the Israelis; and while we were talking and so forth, someone came in and gave him a note. Outside I could hear the shelling intensifying, and I started to shake because I thought the Israelis had broken through, and what am I doing in the middle of what is going to happen here, and I asked 'Arafat what that piece of paper was, and he said, nothing, and went on talking. I got to the point where I was trying to grab the bit of paper from him, and he took hold of my hand and said, 'OK, I will read it out to you: at this hour the Israeli marines have begun intensive rocket shelling from the sea'--so I calmed down somewhat and continued the interview."

Kapeliuk's courage is not of the heroic type that stares death in the face and makes it blink, but more like an outburst of shaky laughter that says screw the world, the kind you would expect from the hormonal upsurge of a 16-year old. Neither Kapeliuk nor those around him would deny the fits of youthful irresponsible behavior that seize him more often than it is seemly for a respectable journalist writing for LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE.

It was in similar circumstances that he met Abu Iyad, the PLO's number two figure.

"I was in his bunker in west Beirut and he said to me: 'You see the chair you are sitting on, yesterday Amin al-Jumayyil sat in it,' and I said to him, 'But Amin al-Jumayyil is your enemy,' and he said, 'Where do you get that, Bashir is our enemy, with Amin we are conducting negotiations and yesterday'--says Abu Iyad-- 'we agreed on the conditions of our evacuation.' I jumped up, because that was a terrific scoop, and he said, 'Forget it, you do not have the details and without confirmation it would be worthless.' He spoke quietly like that, philosophically. 'You see this revolver?' he says to me, 'The Israelis will not take me alive.' I met him a few months after the big crisis in Tripoli between the PLO and Syria with Abu Musa, and he was the one who said, 'Let us go to the Amman conference, because the Syrians and the Israelis want us dead, and we must prove that we have the power to decide.'

"I also met with Abu Jihad, their number two on military matters. I expected to see some Abu Jilda, and what I saw was a man with a moustache, shy, wearing a uniform without markings. I went to his villa in Algeria; we were exchanging polite greetings and suddenly he asked me what was new at NEW OUTLOOK. I almost keeled over; I was indeed on the editorial board of MEW OUTLOOK, but why should he first off ask about NEW OUTLOOK. After that he inquired about what they call the 'peace camp.' Strangely enough he seemed to me quiet and retiring, but this was the man responsible for most of the PLO's military actions. George Habash impressed me as a sort of teacher. They call him 'al-Hakim,' which means both wise and physician, which is his profession. I saw him walking a bit unsteadily, and it turned out that he is slightly paraplegic. He was rather stubborn; he said to me, 'I forbid you to publish our talk,' and only after I urged him did he give me for publication a routine, standard sentence about Palestinian rights."

[Question] Did you talk to him about his war against 'Arafat?

Kapeliuk: "Of course, we had a talk, did we not. He said, 'It is not that we are against compromise. We simply do not believe in it. Nothing will come of it because the Israelis do not mean anything they say, therefore going with 'Arafat's compromise is a fraud. Everything is illusion.'

"I also had an opportunity to meet Layla Khalid. At first she ran away from me, and only after I promised that I would report her statements faithfully did she hesitatingly agree to talk to me. She has thickened and put on some weight since her plane hijacking days, looks like a housewife, and rather than talk politics she told me about her yearnings for her country. In general, when you talk to Palestinians you first have to go through the stage where

they tell you about their yearnings for the motherland, for their town or village, and all that with a feeling and sentimentality that seem genuine to me. George Habash told me how much he misses Lod, and I laughed a bit and said, 'What is so great about Lod? It is the ugliest town in the country,' and he practically melted talking about it. And Layla Khalid told me about Haifa. She was born in Haifa, but her family left in 1948 for Beirut with the refugees, and she said her mother used to tell her the children could not have any presents, because presents they would get when they all returned to Palestine. Do you know what it means for a little girl to hear that?

"Number four in the PLO hierarchy is Faruq al-Qaddumi; he is rather stuck up, maybe because he is slated to become foreign minister; he spoke very diplomatically indeed, but in general his theses are 'Arafat's theses.'"

[Question] If there is peace with a Palestinian state do you see yourself as the ambassador to it?

Kapeliuk: "What an idea! No doubt Roni Milo would be the ambassador, and that would be the most suitable punishment for him, just like Cairo for Ben-Elisar; I would probably be in the Bahamas at a symposium on the border disputes at Latrun."

[Question] Will there be peace between us and the Palestinians?

Kapeliuk: "Without a doubt, unless we all go up to heaven in a mushroom. The question is how much blood will be spilt until then."

[Question] What do you think about the law on banning meetings with the PLO?

Kapeliuk: "I hope it does not go through in the Knesset. This law is wrong and shameful. Knesset Member Attorney David Liba'i has explained this better than I can do it."

[Question] And if it is passed?

Kapeliuk: "Never say die. Those in the know will understand. My readers will continue to receive first hand information, as they did until now."

[Box on p 86]

#### The Missed Chance of Dar'ushah

When the Dar'ushah affair blew up, the travel of an Alignment Knesset member to Cyprus, from where he was supposed to continue to Amman, Kapeliuk was in Amman attending the PLO conference at which Dar'ushah was expected to arrive.

Relying on his sources in Amman, Kapeliuk told the readers of YEDI'OT AHARONOT that Dar'ushah's arrival had been preempted by, among other things, premature airing on television and in KOTERET RASHIT. Upon his return, he read in KOTERET RASHIT that his reporting about Dar'ushah had been short-sighted because he had wanted to be the only Israeli citizen to attend the PLO meeting

in Amman, and Dar'ushah would have deprived him of the glory of being the one and only.

Kapeliuk says he was deeply hurt. As is his wont, he talked to all those who had been involved in the affair: with those who had established contact with the PLO from Israel, with those who hosted Dar'ushah in Cyprus, and with the PLO leaders who had been told that Dar'ushah wanted to come to the conference. Shim'on Peres had said at the time that "Jordan did not give peace a passport," while Kapeliuk in the course of his investigation found out that the Jordanians knew no more about Dar'ushah's expected visit than anybody else who reads the paper, listens to the radio, or watches television.

"They were not requested to authorize Dar'ushah's entry to the country, hence they could not have refused. The PLO received the request toward the end of the conference. Although the Syrians had savagely attacked them, their initial reaction had been to "kiss and make up." Later they retracted that. They simply thought things out and changed their tack. They did not know what Dar'ushah wanted from them, what he was going to say, he may have wanted to praise the Alignment, which the Palestinians hate because of its support for the Lebanon war. Generally speaking, they did not want the conference, which had been successful, to fail because of some unknown factor whose behavior could not be predicted by anyone, so what they did was to pass the word to stall Dar'ushah until the end of the conference. The man who made that decision is a member of the PLO Executive Committee, and he told me that, even if Dar'ushah's intentions had been all good, that was not the way to go about Israeli-Palestinian contacts. If he had something to say he should have conducted the talks within a certain time frame, and without the accompaniment of the media. When the affair blew up, they came to me in Amman to ask who the man was and what he wanted; I told them I had no idea and that I did not even know him. It was only later that we became acquainted. All in all, the Jordanian authorities had given the PLO 'carte blanche' to invite whomever they wanted, and I saw at the meeting people who had been sentenced to death in Jordan, and the Jordanians said nothing; so that had the PLO leadership wanted it, Dar'ushah would have made it to the meeting, but in my opinion, he had not done his homework and did not do the right things."

[Box on p 87]

Are the Missing Still Alive?

Kapeliuk's contacts and connections with the PLO leadership and with the rejection fronts have led him to deep involvement in the affair of the prisoners' release. He was the first to reveal the possibility that Hazi Shay may still be alive, after talking to Ahmad Jibril. That is when Kapeliuk asked him, 'And what about the two prisoners you are holding,' to which Jibril answered, 'How do you know there are not three?' From there on it was only one step to prove that Hazi Shay was alive.

Kapeliuk has been and still is acting in connection with the missing, but considering the rumors and rescue trips organized by the families of the missing throughout the world, Kapeliuk must not have any news, consolation, or

saving suggestions, except for the sober and cruel view that so far there has been no conclusive proof that any of the missing are alive.

Kapeliuk: "The entire involvement in the matter of the prisoners and missing has been for me almost like a holy mission. At present there are no more prisoners, except for two who were just now taken in the security strip, and only four missing since the Lebanon war: Samir Asad from Bet Jann and the three tank men from the area of Sultan Ya'akov--Tzari Feldman, Zahariya Baumel, and Yehuda Katz. The Red Cross learned that Samir Asad was being held by the Democratic Front, and later it was informed that he had been killed in an Israeli bombing of Rabbit Island. When I talked to Nayif Hawatimah and Yasir 'Abd Rabuh of the Front leadership, they said that they have his body and are willing to negotiate its return. They even gave a picture taken after his death to the Red Cross. Since no one has seen him dead or alive, there are still doubts as to his fate, but I am convinced that all the sides involved know that he is no longer alive. As for the other three, I know their families believe that they are still alive, and I even talked to them. They rely, among other things, on the case of Hazi Shay, who had initially been hidden and then produced for the purpose of negotiations. One must remember that immediately after Shay was taken prisoner there was a flow of information about an Israeli soldier held by Jibril, including an interview with him in a Jordanian newspaper, my meeting with Jibril at the PLO conference in Algiers, and the testimony of Jibril's nephew, who was taken prisoner by Israel, that he had met Hazi Shay. As for the three missing, we have no concrete information --and I am rather in on things--that any of them is alive. What their families bring forth as proof that their loved ones are still alive is no more than unverified talk. I am saying this with great sorrow, I hope to be proven wrong, but I fear it is the truth."

[Question] Where are the bodies?

Kapeliuk: "There are several possibilities. One is that those who are holding them are waiting for a political opportunity to begin negotiations, because bodies, too, have a political price; or they are held by some small organization dependent on Syria and which cannot open its mouth unless so instructed by Syria, and the Syrians have not yet come to a decision."

[Question] Is it possible that the same organization is also holding live prisoners?

Kapeliuk: "Theoretically, it is possible. But if Syria or one of its puppets suddenly produces a live prisoner there would be a great outcry that may boomerang against them. When Jibril hid Hazi Shay he claimed that Israel, too, was hiding men of his, and he pressed for lists of his men in jail, and only after all that was cleared through the Red Cross, after months-long negotiations, and after the lists of his men were handed to him, was Hazi Shay shown to the Red Cross. Since currently no organization claims to have missing men held by the Israelis, there is no reason to hold a live Israeli soldier. Once again, I hope I am wrong."

"I viewed the last installment of Uri Goldstein's television series, "Dear Soldiers," together with Yona Baumel, father of the missing Zahariya Baumel,

at his home. After the show we talked for hours, and I told him I had a feeling that before long the truth about the missing men would be revealed. I told him that, because I knew the families, I saw it as my sacred duty to procure the necessary information for them, and I assume that I will be the one to bring the news. Baumel the father had doubts about my statement, but since I was insistent, we bet on a restaurant meal--kosher, as Baumel requested--and sealed the wager with a handshake."

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ISRAEL

DAVID LEVY INTERVIEWED ON POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS

Tel Aviv MONITIN in Hebrew No 90, Mar 86 pp 23-27

[Interview with David Levi, deputy prime minister and minister of housing and construction, by Dov Goldstein: "On the Way to Bet She'an"; date and place not specified]

[Text] The events connected with the Herut Movement convention remind me of a story the talented Yidish comic Shim'on Dzigan used to tell. The curtain goes up. Dzigan rests his hands on the window sill, leans out, lifts his head up, searches the sky expertly, and announces in the voice of a radio weather man: "Ah, ah, ah, black, black skies, heavy clouds as far as the eye can see, and each cloud 1 ton of water. Ah, ah, ah, another minute and it will all come down, and what a flood it is going to be. Flood? What flood? A double flood. On second thought, just a minute... maybe not... who can tell what the skies are going to do?!"

With more or less the same amount of certainty, the cautious commentator might venture to prophecy: The Herut convention will be convened on the 9th of March. Who can tell what Herut is going to do? Perhaps Shamir and Arens will make a steady and unwavering front, against Levy and Sharon, in an uncompromising battle of titans, while Reiser and Milo provide inspiration and stock up the fire, in the hope that their bosses will not, God forbid, be replaced. And perhaps not? Perhaps it will be Levy and Shamir against Sharon and Arens? How can one tell with Herut?

David Levy, the minister of housing and construction and deputy prime minister, is ready for the battle. If on his public and television appearances his opponents may detect alienating signs of arrogance, bluster, and excessive flamboyance, during a long private talk he revealed a good measure of pleasantness and sympathetic traits. Even the nickname "poor man's Begin," which he earned by imitating his admired teacher's turns of speech and gestures, appears in the latter circumstances as tolerable. And the arrogance?

David Levy does not aspire to become minister of agriculture. Even Posts (or Communications, as it is known in more respectable terms) does not attract him. Once Shamir promised to appoint him head of the Foreign Ministry. That was one of Levy's fondest wishes. But the jewel that is missing from his crown



is experience in foreign affairs and diplomatic negotiations. He is aware of the fact that a prime minister must be versed in such things, too.

But now he will not be satisfied with substitutes. Rotation--OK, if we must. There is no choice. Shamir is the man. But 2 years are not a long time, and after that David Levy will not be content with any governmental post less than prime minister. I believe him.

One of his arguments--and he displays a conquering intensity that is almost enough to remove doubts--is: "I am objectively examining the other candidates from all the parties, those who aspire to become prime ministers of Israel, I know them--and believe me, I have no reason to feel any inferiority complex toward any of them. None of them is more suited than I am, and I am no less suitable than anyone else."

[Question] Recently you have been switching allies at an extraordinarily fast rate. Now you are with Shamir against Arens, and now with Sharon against Shamir. Perhaps you can tell me what is going on among the Herut devotees, and who is your present ally, suitable for the moment?

[Answer] No allies, no devotees, no Gog and Magog, and none of these stories. Things are very simple and I can promise you that by the time you leave here you will have understood it all, simply and frankly. Look here (whenever an interviewee tells me to look here, I stop writing, lift the pen from the paper, look around, and see nothing new), look here, after all this is no secret. The controversy began at the previous center meeting, a few weeks ago. The issue concerned convention delegates from various sectors, in addition to the delegates nominated at each branch by democratic elections. Before the previous meeting I had a frank discussion with Shamir and I told him that I am definitely opposed to additional, non-elected delegates. I told him that the addition of hundreds of non-elected delegates is a serious and undemocratic action which will lead to the creation of two sorts of congress delegates: elected, who must win at the branch elections, and those unwillingly appointed by the members and regardless of their desires.. This seriously hurts the branches and the members and may distort the wishes of the members and destroy the notion of correct game rules. All the movement forces must be given an equal and fair chance to compete and to prove their strength and influence.

Shamir heard me out and I thought he was persuaded. He asked for a delay in which to discuss these questions and decide on them. He was talking of about 2 weeks and I saw no reason to oppose this request. At the center I supported Shamir's suggestion to postpone the convention, too, for a short while. If the movement had waited for 7 years and had lived all this time without a congress, despite the major events that occurred, beginning with Menahem Begin's departure from the political arena, it could wait another short time for us to arrive at an understanding about both the date of the congress and the nomination rules for the delegates. Once again I strongly requested that the movement should follow the present, democratic rules and its written statute. I did not want to begin the preparations for the congress on the wrong foot. The convention must succeed. After all, there are no ideological disagreements among us, and at this sensitive time, close as we are to the rotation, we must not allow organizational and personal differences to lead to

confrontation among the movement leaders, rile spirits, and be used by our opponents to taunt us about our image. Consequently, I agreed to Shamir's request to allow the ministers the time to discuss the question of non-elected delegates.

[Question] And that displeased Mr Sharon?

[Answer] Precisely. People began to talk as if I had had an agreement with Sharon and all of a sudden had turned my back on him and joined Shamir. That is really nonsense.

[Question] Did you or did you not have an agreement with Sharon?

[Answer] There was no agreement. It was understood that he and I support the idea of an early convention and oppose its long-term postponement, which some movement members wanted. And I never changed my position on this point. Not in the least! I was and I am in favor of holding the convention soon, and I am opposed to any lengthy postponement. But a short delay, of 2 to 3 weeks, is logical and acceptable in order to try to achieve understanding and dialogue. Sharon, too, was in favor of that, and that is what identified us. But when I agreed to a delay, Sharon was angry, as though I had violated an agreement with him.

[Question] But in the end it was Arens, not you, who recommended the short delay to the center?

[Answer] Wait, listen. We returned to the center meeting, and what transpires? Strange... Sharon, who had been against the delay, suddenly agreed. And before I had the time to return to the meeting, Arens asked to take the floor and brought my proposal to the center, without mentioning my name at all; he raised it in his own name, as if the idea of a delay had been his, not mine.

[Question] He did not even ask you or anything?

[Answer] Nothing. I had no idea what he intended to do. I returned to the meeting and found out that Arens had adopted my suggestion and turned it into an Arens-Sharon proposal--a new partnership, all of a sudden. So I stood up and informed the center that that had been my proposal, and Arens stood up and confirmed that. The decision was unanimously adopted, and there was no agreement violation, no turning any backs, no new alliance, and no nothing.

[Question] Why did Knesset Member Milo attack you personally? Had you done anything to him?

[Answer] Certainly not. I do not want to refer to him personally. But if this is the style, then they should not complain about the fact that a few months ago center members called their colleagues a rabble. Is there a rabble at the Herut center? Is this the image of the Herut highest body? Is it right to call those who want to prevent an illegal vote a rabble? And what was the outcome? The movement court upheld the demand of the "rabble" and obligated Shamir to reconvene the center and to endorse in part the lists of the members who wanted to leave the movement. So this is the "rabble," and this is the kind of

expression used by people who represent themselves as intelligent, in a way as the antithesis of a rabble, as cultivated and well mannered people. I would not descend to this level. I do not want to conduct defamatory discussions or to hurt the movement. I do not want to hurt its democracy, which has become a household notion and has won appreciation even from its political enemies. Those who now try to introduce non-elected delegates in order to distort the wishes of the branch voters are returning us to the 1950's, when there were hundreds of appointed delegates at the Herut convention. I will not allow such a regression. I will fight it with all my strength!

"What an ironic fate! Ironic fate, I tell you! The Labor Party, on the eve of its convention, is now abandoning the system of sectors and sector delegates and trying to imitate us and the democratic system we have employed for dozens of years: branch ballots and elected delegates representing a group of members. But if Herut does what Shamir proposes, it means that we are adopting the Labor system which Labor itself wants to discontinue. History is taking its revenge.

[Question] Can a convention attended by non-elected delegates be democratic and represent the wishes of the movement members?

[Answer] Democratic? It makes democracy into a laughing stock. I will not allow it! The convention would push us back dozens of years only because some people in the movement want to secure a majority for themselves at any price, even if they do not have a majority in the movement and its branches. They will agree to hold the convention only if they can secure an artificial majority. This, you see, is a conditional convention. If they manage to secure a majority so that the convention poses no threat and no one can dispute their leadership, then OK, we have a convention. If not, there is no need for a convention and it should be postponed. This is a distorted, bent, and anti-democratic concept!

[Question] In your worst dreams did you ever dream of such relations within Herut and its leadership, after the Begin era? Disputes, quarrels, name-calling, and intimidation?

[Answer] The question is not dreams. In politics, dreamers are babes in arms. I cannot dictate behavior to other people. I can only say how I behaved and what I did--and that can and should be a lesson for everyone, a lesson in democratic behavior. Sure, I know: there are more people willing to imitate bad things than good, but I still hope that followers will be found for positive behavior, too.

When Menahem Begin retired from the leadership of the government and from the actual leadership of Herut, I acted with complete loyalty and full responsibility. I opposed the nomination of a Begin heir by appointment. Some of my friends thought that it is possible to get together in a room and that three or four ministers can and have the right to decide who should replace Begin. I did not think so. I said that we were the representatives of the public and of the movement, and that if the leader of the movement had resigned and his seat as prime minister had become empty, we must go back to the members, to our voters, and to those who gave us our mandate--the movement

center--put to question to them and ask them to elect a member to fill Mr Begin's place.

I even announced that I would compete with Shamir for the post, and I was positive that such a contest not only would not affect the movement, but would add to its honor and prestige as a democratic and open movement, which gives all its members an equal chance.

People used various arguments to convince me not to compete. They promised that if I agreed to remove my candidacy they would give me the foreign affairs portfolio in the cabinet. I refused. I do not compromise on principles, and the principle of competition does not, in my opinion, admit compromise, and must not be canceled out by the promise of personal gain.

The democratic gesture won the appreciation of the public. I behaved with respect and honor. I made no disparaging remarks, as normally happens in contests. My behavior was not common. I thought that even in a contest one must observe precise rules of behavior and that it is forbidden to defame or intimidate the other contestant.

There was a ballot at the center. I lost. I respected the decision and accepted the verdict of the movement. I did not try to find fault with it. I could have claimed that not all those who voted at the center had a right to vote. I could have proven that some of those who had voted were no longer members of the movement and had gone over to Tehiya. I said nothing.

The ballot closed in the morning. I was dead tired. I did not go to bed. I went to form a coalition for Shamir, who was to be prime minister. Many friends were astonished. They had not believed that this is how I would behave. They had not known this facet of my personality. They had gauged their expectations of me by their own ways, according to what they would have done in that position. Some of the prominent members of the movement had the effrontery to say that if, God forbid, I was elected to the post by the center, they would have no choice but to leave the movement. As bad as that! What a tragedy! They would hand in their membership card. I really had good reasons to feel not only bitter, but also discriminated against, estranged, and rejected, and to be revolted by such statements, namely that they would leave if I were elected.

[Question] Maybe they did not say that?

[Answer] Did not say?! Then why did they not deny it?! Why did they not release a simple announcement saying that what had been attributed to them was a lie, that they accept the decision of the center, and that if the center elects me, they would view me as the representative of the movement, just as I in fact later behaved?! In a democratic system one still has means of refuting accusations, right?! But they remained silent. They did not deny it. They did not shake off the slander.

But I restrained myself. Moral strength was required. I found it. Believe me, this is a difficult and important test: do you have this sort of moral resource, despite the difficulties and despite the rejection? I did.

[Question] But Shamir, for whom you expended so much energy so that he could be prime minister, certainly he rewarded you for it?

[Answer] "He did not! All these years I sought camaraderie, but I never found it. It has always been a one-way affair. I was the only one who was genuinely friendly.

[Question] On the eve of the previous elections in 1984 you decided not to run again for the office. Were you scared off by the opposition of your colleagues in the top leadership?

[Answer] I considered running. I wanted to run. I was convinced that I had the strength to win the Herut center elections and, what is more important, to lead the movement to victory. I was set in my decision. But the negative reaction was renewed. The same expressions were heard again. Once again some members announced that if I was elected as the party's nominee, they would hand in their membership cards.

I saw that this was a fateful hour for Herut. This was my movement. No one could remove me from it. The party is more important to me than all personal questions. The situation was most difficult. It was the first time that we stood in the political arena without Menahem Begin, who was the known and admired leader, accepted by all. The situation was also made difficult by the results of the Lebanon war. The economic situation was also bad. And colleagues said that if I, God forbid, became the candidate for the prime minister's job, the party would lose the elections. Had I entered the race and been elected by the center, and had we then lost the elections, I would have been marked for life, for allegedly having put my personal ambitions above the good of the party at such a fateful time.

[Question] And you were simply cowed by the weight of the responsibility?

[Answer] Responsibility is not a negative value. I weighed things very carefully. Finally I was alone, with myself and with the need to decide. A person is always alone at times like this. After all the consultations and after all the advice from others, you have to decide by yourself.

[Question] What were you advised by those you consulted?

[Answer] The truth is that most of the people I consulted said: Yes! Go for it! Run! You will win! It was a great temptation, from a personal viewpoint and also because I genuinely believed that I could lead the party to victory in the elections, despite all the objective difficulties and problems. I could have overturned the electoral situation.

I decided: No! This time, not! And I went to Yitzhaq Shamir, who was the first to hear my decision. I know that supporters and friends, who believed in me and in my power, were bitterly disappointed, and I was the cause of their disappointment. To Shamir I said: I have considered things carefully. My decision not to run is based on a sober view of the situation and of the difficulties. The great danger is that the colleagues who had threatened to

leave if I am nominated, would act on their threat. That is why I am not running. I do not want to bear the stain of having split the party.

[Question] Do you regret your decision?

[Answer] No. Not for a moment did I have any regrets. It was a sober and responsible decision. I will still prove that I can lead the Likud to victory and to a successful prime minister, worthy of the name.

[Question] In the time since your renunciation, Mr Shamir and other colleagues have undoubtedly repaid you for your responsibility and behavior?

[Answer] Says who?! Who has repaid me? The struggle I am in now proves beyond words how they have repaid me. Today they are interested in only one thing: how to dominate the party and how to close all access points to David Levy. Today, too, they are using the same rusty claim that I threaten to split the party. I, who have sacrificed everything for the unity of the movement.

The fact is that after I renounced the race and the excellent chance I had to win, I was put in the most cruel and difficult position: I had both given up the race, and had to head the electoral headquarters and act in behalf of colleagues who had not wanted me and had personally insulted me.

[Question] What, in your view, are the roots of your colleagues' opposition to your candidacy for prime minister?

[Answer] I am aware of the reaction caused by rapid personal advancement, too rapid for the taste of my colleagues in the leadership. Let us be objective, as if I were not the subject of the discussion. When a young member like me soars to the top with such speed and enjoys the support I have in the movement, the others are initially surprised, but once the surprise has disappeared, they find it difficult to digest. It is particularly difficult for colleagues who walk around with the feeling that they deserve the leadership and who think that the highest position is their natural due.

And suddenly, this young member emerges out of the ranks. They might perhaps be prepared to put up with him in a secondary role, but in the lead--that is too much. One must build a wall against that. That is not acceptable.

And that is their psychological test. They will not have a choice. They will slowly become accustomed to the idea and will learn to deal with their digestive problems.

[Question] Perhaps they merely think that you cannot correctly gauge yourself and that you are perhaps striving for a post and a political position that are above and beyond your real abilities?

[Answer] Who thinks so? Who says so? Who has the right to decide? It is the right of each party member, in the leadership or in the rank and file, to think what he likes. But the ones who decide, in the last analysis, are the party members. The members decide, according to their wishes and beliefs. This

is the ironclad rule of democracy and this is the only real answer to all the questions and to both those who think I deserve and those who think I do not deserve to lead. The decisive factor is to what extent a person who sees himself fit to be prime minister can deal with challenges, establish goals, strive to attain them, and represent the movement, its members, and its ideas in the best possible way. Also decisive is the ability to look into the future, and to influence political events and political and security directions, even when one's colleagues do not understand him. These are the proofs of what are called leadership qualities.

[Question] Were you now listing your own qualities?

[Answer] The truth is that I look around me, analyze people and their traits and qualities, compare them to both party colleagues and political opponents, and I do not feel inferior in any way. I do not in the least feel that any of them is better suited for the position than I am, or that I am less suited than anyone else. No, I have no such feeling!

[Question] Then perhaps you have so far not succeeded in persuading your colleagues in the leadership of your qualities?

[Answer] No one denies that I have succeeded in all my jobs. And I have never heard anyone in the party or in its leadership say that I do not faithfully represent the party. And I have never heard it said that I was not popular. And no one ever said that I do not know my capabilities. This never came up in any discussion I ever had with colleagues. But the first place? Now, really! This makes the colleagues recoil and it angers them. I am built of a special material. I have a very long breath. I have great inner confidence. I have learned great patience in the party, which served me well during the long years in the opposition. I have studied at the school of life. I have traveled a long road paved with hardships and cruel jokes. I have passed all the practical tests. I always succeeded in everything I did. I struggled with the situation in the [poor] neighborhoods of Israel, and I have improved life there beyond recognition. I have accomplished great things in Jerusalem. I have proven to everyone that I can look into the future with political and security insight. Who can say that I do not deserve and cannot be the Likud candidate for the premiership? That is nonsense! I can and I will, and I shall lead the Likud to great victory and be prime minister!

[Question] Perhaps the struggle here is on an ethnic basis, between those coming from Europe, with a powerful background in the past, and those coming from Eastern communities, who are now the main supporters of Herut and Likud?

[Answer] From the bottom of my heart I tell you: Earlier you asked me about my dreams, and I told you that in politics one does not dream, but in this respect I did have a great dream, a wonderful dream, that I can contribute to this situation, that no one in Israel will in the future ask anyone where he comes from, where his parents came from, and what his origin is, but only why we came and how we can together build here the state of the Jews.

That is what I have been working for and that is what I shall work for as long as I have the strength. This is how I acted in the most difficult situations,

when the "panthers" and others here came out to struggle and when stormy events were taking place. In this respect, for very many people, both Ashkenazi and Sephardi, I represent a unifying force that does not march backwards, only forwards. If this hope is taken away from me, then I do not want any part of political life. Thousands can be found to take my place.

This dream, this faith in the need to erase all ethnic differences, give me the strength to fight. When people ask me where I get the strength to stand up to all the hardships my answer is that this dream gives me the strength to overcome not only enemies, but also the weaknesses of friends.

[Question] Are there leaders in the Herut who are afraid of the branch members and of their support for you, and who are willing to disrupt their democratic representation even at the expense of the party and its interests?

[Answer] I cannot speak for other people's perceptions. My duty is to attack any pretext used against democratic procedures and serving to distort the representation of the members.

[Question] Do you hold the absolute majority at the branches?

[Answer] I do not agree with the term absolute majority. In democratic life it has a foreign sound. I do not like it. I recoil from it. But great support, very extensive sympathy--that I have at the branches. I meet with them again and again. I meet with sympathy, affection, and an enormous amount of identification. This is the source of my strength. Even if all my colleagues in the cabinet stood against me as one, and I was alone against their united front--the difference was negligible. And that tells the entire story.

[Question] Will you remain a member of a political party that barred your way to the number one position and allowed you to become at the most number two?

[Answer] I have a problem. This is my party. Here I find identification with my world outlook. This is the organization I joined freely, of my own choice. Here is where I grew. This is my entire "credo." Can a person and does he have a right to see himself serve in a certain position--this depends on the confidence that the others have in him and in his ability to lead the party to electoral victory.

Hand on heart I will make a confession: if I should come to the realization--and I do not know when and if this should happen--that I cannot lead the party, although I am convinced and positive that I can bring victory to my camp, then my decision will be unavoidable. Blessed is the politician who can take such a decision at the right time. It is a cruel decision, but vital for anyone who is not willing to remain in any position aside from the top one. Home to wife, children, and family! I will not force myself on others. I can make a contribution. I can lead. But if I am cast into third, or second position--then no! Not me! I will not change my world outlook. I will not leave the organization. But a person can--and in certain circumstances must--say: Farewell, I am going home.



[Question] Can this happen? And if it happens, will you have the willpower?

[Answer] Yes. I live with the feeling that it can happen. This is a natural feeling for me. And if it does happen, I will have the willpower to go home. But in contrast to this feeling, I am clearly aware that I can and am capable not only of competing for the premiership, but also of leading to victory. I never throw up my hands in any situation, even in difficult and sensitive ones.

[Question] What weight do you assign to the opposition of your colleagues in the leadership? Is their support a condition for you, or would you be nominated to run for prime minister by your supporters, in spite of your colleagues in the leadership?

[Answer] Their opposition is legitimate, as is their jealousy and fight against me. But it does not count with me. The support of the rank and file is the decisive factor, and their support for me is massive; it is increasing and will continue to increase, and the colleagues in the leadership will have to adjust to it.

[Question] Do you see any situation in which you would leave Herut and lead a new political party?

[Answer] No! That has never entered my head. Never!

[Question] Is Moshe Arens suited to become prime minister, in your opinion?

[Answer] I am not going to say. I cannot be objective.

[Question] Are you certain that the rotation will take place on schedule?

[Answer] That is a difficult question. The thing does not depend on our party. If it were up to Herut, it undoubtedly would. The rotation also depends on the other side. I believe that people who sign an agreement also mean to respect it, but to positively assert it--I am not certain.

[Question] Do you miss Mr Begin's leadership?

[Answer] I greatly appreciate him, as a statesman, as a man, and as a friend. I have seen him in difficult situations, in crises, and also in times of elation, optimism, and love of Israel. Yes, I miss him.

[Question] What did you think of the appearance of his son, Ze'ev Binyamin, on television?

[Answer] There has been a discussion about it and there have been newspaper articles. Each one examined it from his own viewpoint and impressions. There has been controversy between politicians and journalists. What I will tell you is that Begin's son has been attributed all sorts of intentions. What I saw and heard was a young, energetic, talented, intelligent, sensitive, and articulate man. Naturally, there is a resemblance between the son and the father. His liveliness is natural in a young man.

[Question] Did you like what he said, that there are only two camps within Herut, the Shamir camp and your camp, but no Sharon camp?

[Answer] I will not put it that way, that I like what is good for me, and do not like what is not. I gauge things by a more objective yardstick.

[Question] Would you like him to become involved in the party?

[Answer] If he decided to join the party activities, that would be natural and understandable. There is nothing against the second generation following in the footsteps of their fathers. On the contrary, political life is crying for talented young people.

[Question] And if Begin's son tried to climb up the fast way and sought a leading position in the party?

[Answer] Why venture so far afield? I do not want to look so far ahead.

[Question] Does he deserve special rights within the party, other than the rights of any young man, because of his father?

[Answer] In a political party I do not like the idea that one gives and another receives, and the receiver is in the giver's debt. It is a slap in the face of the receiver. A young man must make his own way on the basis of his own abilities, talents, devotion, and persistence. Benny Begin has already shown that he does not want to be given things. He sought and found his way on his own, and successfully so. He did not take advantage of the party or of his father in any way.

If he joins in energetic activities, that will be an honor for the movement. But he will have to work hard. He will have to pass tests. Time and experience will build him up, with the joys and sorrows, achievements and failures. You see, even a valuable diamond has to be well cut. Its price also depends on the quality of its cut. In politics, time and experience are the cutting of the diamond.

[Question] At his age you were already a cabinet minister...

[Answer] To each his own path. It is a personal thing.

[Question] And Ari'el Sharon, what do you think of him?

[Answer] What should I think?

[Question] For example, is he suited to become prime minister?

[Answer] That is not a question. Sharon is a member of the same political movement I belong to. He is going to the electoral campaign with me. He is part of the mosaic. The mosaic is made up of various stones. Some are shinier than others; some are better than others. What counts is the mosaic as a whole.

[Question] In your opinion, is Shim'on Peres a successful prime minister?

[Answer] I should give marks to the prime minister? In some things he has succeeded more than in others. One and a half years are a short time for a politician, especially for a prime minister. But one has to admit that he tries and works hard. That is true.

[Question] Then perhaps it would be worthwhile to give him more time, if 1 and 1/2 years are too short.

[Answer] Are you asking me as a Likud member or as a Labor Party member?

[Question] When you visit Barukh Abu-Hatzira in Netivot you behave like a true son of the Moroccan community. You bow to the mysterious powers of Abu-Hatzira and deride the modernists. Do you not feel that in so doing you roll our lives back years and pay a high price for a chance to gain popularity?

[Answer] Oho, oho! What have I said? What has earned me such harsh words? I am not hiding anything. I have said that among the Jewish Diaspora there was a strong belief that one day they would return to the promised land. I said that this belief was common to people in Poland and Mexico, Asia and Africa, Tunisia, Morocco, and everywhere. I also said that spiritual shepherds rose in the Diaspora, who kept up the spirit of the people and reinforced their belief that the day of salvation was near. Such a man lived in Morocco, too; he died before seeing that day, and we never saw him arrive here. He is buried at Damanhur in Egypt. He did not live to come to Israel, but his grandson did, and he is buried in Dimona--Baba-Sali. And we celebrate his memory. He was a righteous man. He helped many to strengthen their faith, which to many brought both relief and remedy, and strength to bear the pain.

And that is why I said that in our country, in our dream country, we are losing our roots and our Jewish faith and are imitating foreign cultures, which bring both emptiness and crime, and social and moral decrepitude. If that is the meaning of a modern life, then we are in trouble. And those who believe in the nation of Israel, in its humanity and sensitivity to justice, must realize these values and bequeath them to our sons. The Jewish people have no other culture than that which stood by them and preserved them all these years and generations in every place, for 2,000 years.

Is this regression? Is this against modernism? Can you not subscribe to these things with all your heart?!

[Box on p 25, by Ran Edelist]

Recently David Levy seems more troubled than usual. It is as if he had been brutally plucked from the seventh tier of a wedding cake and dumped among the noisy plebe, something that makes him purse his lips and blink like some French marquis who has found a fly in his soup and cannot quite decide whether to faint or hang the cook.

He has every reason in the world to feel mortally wounded, because it had been clear as the sun at noon and the moon at night that David Levy was to be the recognized, declared, hand-picked, and absolute leader of the Herut and Likud movement. Had it not been for a few people--malicious people, not entirely faithful and devoted to the movement, and lacking a genuine revisionist ideology--who are secretly maneuvering behind Levy's back and the back of the entire movement to torpedo his glorious mission--ahem!!!

But perhaps Levy is more troubled than usual because of the intellectual and philosophical gap between his real position as the obvious representative of the Oriental community in a party mostly supported by the Oriental community, and his declarations that he is "totally and absolutely" opposed to mixing ethnic considerations into the contest. It may be that this moral gap between what he says and what he does is simply killing him, and it may be that what really troubles him is the fact that he has flunked all the internal Herut contests, while the newcomers from LA'AM and the Liberals, and the new panzer brigade of Shamir's people threaten to erode his power in the party even further.

The problem is that no one believes what Levy says. Levy has always been a plastic imitation of Begin, who himself was a pale and distorted replica of Jabotinsky. The manner in which Levy imitated and still imitates Begin's speech was comical, and at the beginning it even aroused pity, but he lived among a movement in which, if you make fun of the Messiah's donkey, you make fun of the Messiah himself. Somehow he managed to pull this bombastic, operatic pomposity through the 1973 elections, when he climbed up to the national stage and immediately attracted a hail of public derision which threatened to cut short the rest of his career.

Levy's most impressive public success was perhaps that he managed to live down this cruel campaign of Levy jokes, which for the purpose of internal marketing was represented as the campaign of MAPAI's Ashkenazis against Herut's downtrodden blacks--and which in the end turned Levy into the right's answer to the MAPAI and Alignment ethnic activism.

And today, when it seemed that Levy was to be the only purchaser of the ethnic agreement stock of post-Begin Likud, he found himself opposed by Shitrit, Ketzev, Magen, and a whole group of youngsters whose calling cards do not include ethnic considerations in bold letters, who are edging him to the margins outside the administrative arrangements, and abandoning him to the internal fight that he is losing round after round.

They also know enough to stop short of the politician's standard hypocritical show of "my people, my country, my fatherland, my family."

Levy, the Abu-Nafha [swollen head] of Israeli politics, does not recognize any facial expression that would not be suitable for the cover picture of a French fashion magazine for men.

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ISRAEL

#### CHALLENGES FACING MILITARY R&D DESCRIBED

Jerusalem GOVERNMENT PRESS OFFICE in English 13 Feb 86

[Article by Reuven Pedatzur, Military Correspondent, "Ha'Aretz,"]

[Text] As time goes by, it becomes clear beyond any doubt that the major key to future success in the power race in which Israel participates is an enhancement of the qualitative factor. Due to the character of the Middle East arena, the relation between the size of available combatant forces and available combat ground has reached saturation point. In fact, future improvements in the forces' efficiency will from now on be possible only through qualitative improvement.

The sole effective operational response to the IDF's quantitative disadvantage on the ground lies in a significant improvement of the technological quality component in the arms race. Victory on the battlefield of the future will be attainable through, inter alia, the precise-weapons revolution. An analysis of the composition of the building of the regional forces' order of battle reveals that the "precise-fire" component is gradually gaining dominance even now. In the Arab Armies, this phenomenon is expressed mainly in the emphasis placed on the construction of large, dense batteries of anti-aircraft missiles and the massive acquisition of anti-tank weapons.

One of the challenges facing Israeli defense policymakers and planners of the IDF's future order of battle stems from the increasingly accepted assumption that the modern technologies of precise weapons give a clear advantage to the defending side. Acceptance of this assumption as a basis for forming a security policy might lead to the adoption of a fundamentally defensive doctrine. The danger is, of course, that an IDF adopting such a doctrine might fall prey to the quantitative gap. Military-strategy experts estimate that the only possible solution to the problems posed by the future battlefield is to build up the IDF on the basis of the offensive component.

Due to quantitative limitations in manpower and weapons, the IDF must refrain from engaging in prolonged battles in which its strength will be significantly and dangerously depleted. The Lebanon War served as the writing on the wall in this respect. Its outcome demonstrated the level

of depletion suffered by a force trying to carry out an offensive under modern battle conditions. The offensive mission the IDF had set itself in Lebanon took a much longer time and exacted a far heavier price than originally planned. Despite the fact that in some battle sectors the IDF was faced with a considerably inferior enemy, it turned out that the ground forces paid a higher price for every kilometre of advance than in the Yom Kippur War. The necessary conclusion is to diversify the IDF force components while preserving its offensive capability and mobility. The problem is, of course, finding the right balance between these force components so as to enable the IDF to decide a war rapidly.

The great challenge facing the defense establishment in coming years is the swiftness with which it will be possible to effect the alteration of these force components -- in the direction of the configuration required for fighting on the future battlefield. In coping with this challenge a key role -- sometimes a leading role -- is reserved for the military R&D system.

The organizational aspect of R&D within the defense establishment has undergone numerous metamorphoses, starting with the establishment of the science corps in 1949, through "Raphael" (Hebrew acronym for weapons systems development authority), the Chief Scientist's office, and down to responsibility for military R&D being placed in the Deputy Defense Minister's office. Shortly before the Yom Kippur War, an R&D unit (RDU) was set up within the IDF and operated parallel to the chief scientist of the defense ministry. The RDU was headed first by an officer at Major-General level, and later at Brigadier-General level.

During Ariel Sharon's term as Defense Minister, R&D was reorganized, and within this framework the Directorate for R&D of Weapon Systems and Production Infrastructure was established, and the Chief Scientist's role abolished. It was decided that the directorate -- to be headed by a civilian -- would continue to encompass the RDU, which was to be run by a Brigadier-General and which would handle the development of weapons systems.

The Directorate is the body concentrating the development missions of approved projects once operational requirements have been defined by the IDF's various branches. Thus it is the personnel who run this body who must cope with the basic dilemmas of military R&D in Israel. It seems that the gravest dilemma in the near future stems from the budgetary restrictions imposed on the defense establishment. Two factors used to make things easier for defense establishment R&D personnel: The availability of relatively large financial resources for R&D needs; and, the relative scarcity of critical areas in the development of weapons systems technology. Israel thus managed to progress fairly rapidly in the technological arms race, while closing the gaps and acquiring a standing in the field of weapons-systems production. Between 1959-73 the gap was closed in air-to-air missiles. From the 1950's to the mid-1970's the tank gap was eliminated, and Israel now possesses a state-of-the-art battle tank -- the Merkava.

The trend of developments and the sophistication of weapons in coming years point to a slide towards a high cost for every unit. This involves the danger of falling into the "small-quantity trap", which stems from the economic constraints imposed by a limited budget. The main role of the military R&D system is therefore to identify the critical areas of the future battlefield. The weapons systems developed to meet anticipated problems in these areas will in fact tip the scale in future wars. The major problem, once critical areas have been identified, is the need to cope in any case with superpower capability due to the basic assumption that the other side will always receive the best arms and weapons-systems of both east and west. It goes without saying that coping with superpower capability requires huge investments, which are unfortunately unavailable.

The IDF's quantity of weapons and its arms procurements will always be limited by 3 basic restrictions: The economic constraints of a limited budget; the constraint of the minimal quantities determined by the minimal number of missions that must be carried out against a given enemy; and the constraint of quality capable of offsetting the enemy's equipment. There is no doubt that these 3 restrictions will necessarily limit the development of weapons systems in the long run.

Owing to the fact that the time constant of modern weapons systems R&D is increasingly growing -- and involves a few years in any case -- 2 aspects assume a critical character: the correct choice of vital projects and the abandonment of others; and the acquisition of the optimal number of items necessary for confrontation on the battlefield. Success in choosing the right projects and the solution of the problems involved in the development process will be of no avail if a war breaks out before the IDF is equipped with the "critical mass" of weapons required to decide the conflict. If no sufficient means are available, the new weapons system will indeed demonstrate operational capability, but will fail to decide the war. A successful effort not to harm development program was indeed made within the framework of the defense budget cut, and the amount of financial resources allocated for R&D remained almost as before, but R&D successes are not realized at an optimal rate.

Defense sources familiar with the IDF's acquisition plans estimate that if current trends continue, the IDF will have the appropriate operational responses for a war breaking out in the coming decade. The problem will arise in the period following this decade, during which the IDF's responses to emerging problems will depend on the Arab Armies' determination in building up their confrontation capability. The same sources express concern over the tendency to cut the defense budget, especially due to the fact that such cuts entail a reduction of the "Freedom Levels" of IDF replenishment. The lack of resources does not enable the development, production and acquisition of items still missing from the order of battle -- the price of each individual item of which is extremely high. In the opinion of these sources, one possible solution is using the very large slice (of the budget) invested in the Lavi Project for promoting the necessary change in the IDF's order of battle and its replenishment for the next decade.

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ISRAEL

ISRAELI INTELLIGENCE SERVICE DEPICTED

Jerusalem GOVERNMENT PRESS OFFICE in English 18 Feb 86

[Article by Amos Gilboa, Ma'Avri, 14.2.86]

[Text] (...) Our intelligence is made up basically of the Intelligence Branch, Air and Naval Intelligence, the Intelligence Corps, the Mossad, the Security Service and the Foreign Ministry. All of them work together, with understanding and cooperation at all levels, to develop and operate the production circuit of information and intelligence:

--The Collation Network collects everything it can see or hear from the "Shalom Tower" or dozens and hundreds of similar structures. It does so via human and technical means. Sometimes it wants to know everything, and sometimes it wants to know what happened at a particular moment, in the "washroom" on the 10th floor. The person sitting there is not interested in others seeing certain parts of his body and does his best to hide them.

--The Research Network receives all the raw reports, ballast and choice, by the thousands and tens of thousands and proceeds to translate them into "intelligence" -- corroborated data. It also begins to make some order of the chaos: To locate the walls, floors and toilets, in order to draw up a more or less complete picture, so that it can start to estimate what is really happening and its significance. Perhaps also to forecast what will develop. A part of all this will be stored, another part will be given written form, in the various intelligence reports, and orally.

These systems consist of thousands of employees, most of them in collation. This is a production machine with very many links. Suffice it that one link, even a small one, be slightly weak or slow, and the entire production line collapses. This happens fairly frequently. The link is then either bolstered or replaced. If water is leaking in the bathroom, a plumber locates the source of the leak. If he is an upright person, it is likely that he will not recommend renovations in the entire apartment. At most he will suggest replacing the pipes there.

In addition to common sense and intellectual integrity, the research officers must possess with a whole gamut of skills in their field of operation: Understanding and knowledge of the enemy's language, military



strength, political system, culture, society, mentality, etc. In other words: With the hundreds of nuances, slight and heavy, which will enable knowing -- though not always -- who are the persons in the labyrinths of the "Shalom Tower," what they are doing there and why.

What must also be known are, for example, the air lanes, civilian and military, in the Middle East, the planes' call numbers, their tail numbers, who generally flies on a certain airplane, etc.

In the case of the Libyan aircraft, according to what was published, the intelligence system knew that a clandestine convention of extremist terrorist organizations was being held in Tripoli, Libya. It knew that a group of leaders was flying in a certain aircraft from Damascus to Tripoli. It knew that on a certain day and at a specific hour they were to return to Damascus on a particular plane. Something happened and they did not board that plane. It is possible, as stated, that if the pilot of the intercepted aircraft had reported to the intelligence system that they were not on his plane, it would not have been intercepted. A pity.

The Research Officer, who daily receives hundreds of raw reports, must show expertise not only in the language, but also in its nuances. Many years ago a raw report was received (from a good and reliable source) that an Egyptian division had entered Sinai. There was a great to-do "upstairs." It turned out that an Egyptian Army orchestra had come to Sinai. In Arabic the word orchestra (Firqa) also means division...

He must be familiar with the obscurity of arabic names and their diminutive, as well as with the cultural charge each name bears. Arabs generally have 3 to 4 names and 1 or 2 sobriquets. If there is a report on someone whose name is Rashad, who does it refer to? To Mahmed Ahmed Rashad Alqanwati or to Ahmed Hussein Rashad Alqanwati?

A report was once received that Nasser had arrived in Amman. Research had not transferred this report "upstairs" together with interpretations. This was a time of tension and they were outraged "upstairs": "How can you ignore such important information?" The Research Officer in charge calmed them down: "This is not Egypt's President, Abd El-Nasser, but just some personality whose name is Nasser."

As pertains to moslems, any moslem, a slight difference in name can be colossal: The one is Allah's servant (which has dozens of denominations, one of which is Nasser = The Conqueror) and the second is only a conqueror. In order to compound the confusion, there are also errors: The name may be distorted by a "broken telephone" via which the raw report sometimes passes. It also happens that the person relaying the information makes a mistake in the name or its spelling.

Extensive, exhaustive and frustrating working-out of a mosaic is necessary. Each report must be examined and re-examined before a decision is made on what to do with it: To toss into the waste basket, store or report, and how to report and how fast.

First the report's reliability must be checked and whether it isn't just a "some woman said" story (of which there are many, but they must always be checked). Even if the source is reliable, it must be ascertained whether he has any accessibility to the subject about which he is reporting. And even if he has -- is he at all familiar with the topic. Then the report must be confirmed and cross-checked against other information, and sometimes it is inconsistent. The correct meaning(s) of each report must be inferred. Here too there is room for "goofs."

In 1970 American Intelligence received information, via aerial photography, that extra soccer fields had been appended to a Cuban Naval Base and that Soviet advisers were staying on them. The significance of the report: The network of Soviet Advisers in Cuba had been enlarged. Only later did it come to light that as of 1970 soccer had become popular in Cuba and they had simply built more soccer fields. This was no indication of an increased Soviet presence.

The reports are numerous, but they are nearly never adequate. Always many caps remain in the puzzle. And as usual, there's a question of time. If the information isn't passed on in time, to the right person, in the most correct and objective form -- it's not worth a dime. A system's tremendous toil will have gone down the drain.

Each system needs refreshing and oiling and, of course, lessons must be learned. When necessary, as has happened more than once in the past, it has to be treated according to the axiom "spare the rod and spoil the child." But, when not necessary, each flick of the rod may slacken the hands of those involved in the effort. Ultimately, they are toiling for the benefit of the Jewish nation.

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ISRAEL

PALASHAS LEAVING ORTHODOXY

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 14 Feb 86 p 3

[Article by Joel Rebibo]

[Text]

Orthodox educators are losing the battle to keep Ethiopian immigrants within the fold, according to Ya'acov Hadani, director of the Education Ministry's Orthodox-education division.

"Experience has shown that, when you have a large cultural gap, the immigrants take on the characteristics of the secular majority," Hadani told *The Jerusalem Post*. "It happened to immigrants who came here in the '50s and '60s."

All of the Ethiopian children brought here a year ago during Operation Moses were registered in state-religious schools. Absorption Ministry figures show that 5 per cent have since switched to secular schools.

Hadani confirmed that there had been incidents of young secular Ethiopians persuading the newcomers to pull their kids out of state-religious schools.

"In Holon, tens of parents suddenly pulled their children out of school after a weekend visit from two young leaders," Hadani said.

Hadani does not believe that the ongoing struggle between the Chief Rabbinate and the Ethiopians on the need for ritual conversion has had any effect on religious education.

"We're completely detached from the whole issue and they know it," said Hadani. "our job is to educate children, not to take them to the mikve."

Approximately 90 per cent of the residents of the Mevasseret Zion absorption centre remain traditional, according to an interpreter who has been in Israel for three years.

"I couldn't get used to wearing a *kippa* and I don't like going to the synagogue, where they read so fast that I feel foolish standing there, but I observe Shabbat," he said.

Mevasseret Zion is the exception, he added, because Orthodox olim from Western countries have got involved with the Ethiopians. "In most places they are left alone. It's as if they were still in Ethiopia and without guidance. They are not practising modern Judaism."

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CSO: 4400/127

ISRAEL

PERES, MODA'I CLASH OVER SPENDING POLICY

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 14 Feb 86 pp 1, 18

[Article by Mark Segal, Roy Isacowitz, Ya'acov Friedler, Avi Temkin and Shlomo Maoz]

[Text]

Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Finance Minister Yitzhak Moda'i were at loggerheads yesterday over the future course of the government's economic policy. While Peres, spurred on by his party, called for a renewal of economic growth, Moda'i counter-attacked that the Alignment sought only to waste resources and stuff the coffers of Alignment ministries.

Alignment sources told *The Jerusalem Post* that a bitter struggle is shaping up behind the scenes in the government for control of hundreds of millions of dollars. Peres and the Alignment are seeking to control \$500 million that would become the "prime minister's fund" for economic growth, but the Likud is strongly opposed.

Government sources said that the Likud, through Moda'i and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon, already control a special fund of \$100m. The sources explained that this fund was particularly important since the government had stopped giving investment loans in July 1985.

Moda'i was quoted yesterday as saying that he would resign if spending and inflation were resumed. He reportedly told the Association of Chambers of Commerce in Tel Aviv that "if they start operating the printing presses, I'll go home."

If the experience of other finance ministers is any guide, he reportedly said, it is very likely that he would be forced to leave office, as his prede-

cessors had been when they stood up for their principles.

Moda'i's spokesman last night "absolutely denied" that Moda'i had threatened to resign, and noted that his remarks had been made in a closed meeting.

As revealed in *The Post* last week, the row between Peres and Moda'i reflects concern among Labour Party ministers that the Likud is getting ready to reap the economic and political benefits created by months of austerity, a weaker dollar, and drops in fuel and grain prices, after the premiership is handed over to the Likud in October.

The clash has also been fuelled by Treasury accusations that the Alignment was trying to bail out Labour Movement bodies in dire economic straits. Treasury officials said yesterday that the Labour Party wants the \$500m. to bail out Solel Boneh, the Histadrut health fund, and the cooperative agriculture sector.

The row between Peres and Moda'i was joined by Economics Minister Gad Ya'acobi, who said that if the government is not able to carry out a "responsible policy" there is no point in continuing its existence.

Ya'acobi warned earlier this week that if the cabinet did not adopt a plan for renewing economic growth, the Labour Party should consider breaking up its partnership with the Likud.

Moda'i said yesterday that Ya'acobi's ideas for economic growth were nothing more than a copy of the measures which were

planned by the Treasury, with a slight change to make them appear original.

"We cannot help failing enterprises. The Alignment wants to waste the meagre resources we have to increase the expenditures of the Education, Health, Agriculture and Defence Ministries," he said. All of these ministries are controlled by the Alignment. He said that increased spending now would bring back inflation.

Peres last night mapped out his priorities for renewed economic growth at the convention of the Haifa branch of the Labour Party, the country's largest.

The branch secretary, Dov Garfunkel, urged Peres not to yield the premiership to Shamir in October.

Peres said economic growth would be resumed shortly without enlarging the budget and bringing back inflation, by allowing up to \$500m. saved by the government to finance viable industries. Some of the \$100m. already saved on fuel would also be diverted to industrial recovery, he said.

A fight against unemployment would be started, Peres said, noting that there were still 8,000 jobs nobody wanted and 18,000 foreign workers in the country. In the development towns and Haifa, with their particularly high jobless rate, efforts would be made on a factory-to-factory basis to improve the situation.

Speaking earlier to a gathering of the Israel Friends of the Weizmann

Institute in Tel Aviv, Peres called for a renewal of economic growth, stressing Israel's need to develop an "advanced" economy based on science and technology. Part of the resources to be diverted to growth would go to universities and institutes of science and technology.

Peres's turnabout on the issue of economic growth has come in the wake of pressure within his party. Twice this week Peres called for a policy of economic growth.

A six-person committee of Labour MKs is currently drawing up the party's demands for wide-ranging alterations in the draft budget for the next fiscal year. Peres was actively involved in the drawing up of the draft budget, which is based on a tight monetary policy and increased payment by the public for social services. But the opposition to the budget within Labour, led by Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar and a small group of "socially conscious" MKs, has apparently caused him to change his mind.

Addressing the Labour central committee on Tuesday, Peres said that the time had come to begin a policy of economic growth and to mend some of the social damage caused by the recovery programme.

Kessar has disputed the Treasury's contention that the budget does not make provision for renewed investment efforts. In his view, the Treasury's reserve funds are sufficient to begin financing economic growth.

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ISRAEL

ISRAEL RANKED HIGH IN ARMS PRODUCTION

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 16 Feb 86 p 3

[Text]

STOCKHOLM (AP). - Israel was the Third World's largest arms producer between 1980 and 1984, according to a publication of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (Sipri).

*Arms Production in the Third World*, says that Israel's arms production for that period was worth \$1.342 billion at constant 1975 prices.

The Third World has boosted production and export of major weapons enormously in the past decades, but self-sufficiency remains remote for all but a few nations, the institute believes. In 1950, the total value of Third World major arms production equalled the price today of a single tank. In 1984, the Third World produced major weapons worth \$1.47 billion at 1975 prices.

Sipri said that Israel and Brazil, with India and Taiwan, currently the biggest weapons producers, are now competing with superpowers in the arms market.

Sipri is an organization for war and peace research financed by Sweden's parliament. The 390-page book is by Sipri researchers Michael Brzoska, a West German, and Thomas Ohlson, a Swede. For them, Third World means countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia (except China and Japan). The book deals only with aircraft, armoured vehicles, missiles and ships.

Sipri said that eight countries accounted for more than 90 per cent of Third World major weaponry production, out of a total of 26 such Third World manufacturing countries.

Next after Israel are India (\$1.265b.), Brazil (\$566m.), Taiwan (\$562m.), Argentina (\$391m.), South Africa (\$380m.), South Korea (\$346m.) and North Korea (\$265m.)

Although Third World arms exports increased tenfold from 1974 to 1984, its share of the global arms market was only about 1.5 per cent.

Brzoska and Ohlson said the prime force behind the Third World arms industry was a quest for political and military self-sufficiency. They also noted that India, Israel and South Africa had to cope with international embargoes. But dependence on direct arms imports had in many cases been replaced by technological dependence, they said, with half of Third World production being under licence from Western or Soviet bloc countries and China.

Most Third World arms makers could not produce high-tech weapons on a par with the most advanced industrialized countries, they said, and domestic demand was reaching a saturation point.

They said some countries had turned to export, notably Brazil, South Korea, Singapore, Indonesia and Israel - the only important producer of missiles and the only exporter of state-of-the-art weapons in all four major arms categories.

Brazil had exported 80 per cent of its arms production in 1980-84, the book said. Arms were estimated to comprise about 10 per cent of the country's total exports. Brazil's biggest customers, the book said, had been Arab and neighbouring Latin American countries.

KUWAIT

INDUSTRY FACES PROBLEMS, UNCERTAIN FUTURE

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic Dec 85 pp 46-48

[Article: "Has the Industrialization Policy Been a Failure?"]

[Text] Kuwaiti industry is going through a difficult phase of development which can be characterized as structural due to the protracted decline in the number of businesses and the government's national industrialization policy.

During the boom years of economic development, from 1972 to 1982, the number of industrial projects implemented in Kuwait increased sharply.

This sector's share of the GNP rose from 75 million Kuwaiti dinars in 1974 to 254.7 million in 1982, achieving a nominal annual growth rate of 16.5 percent. And since wholesale prices did not rise more than 8 percent a year during that period the industrial sector's real rate of growth can be considered even higher, reflecting the expanded absorptive capacity of the economy and the government's efforts to encourage industrial development within the framework of its economic diversification strategy.

However, despite its rapid development, this sector has played only a limited role in the national economy. In 1982 it produced about 4.5 percent of the GNP and 8.6 percent of the non-oil GNP. These figures are 7.3 percent and 14 percent respectively if oil refining is included.

Although Kuwait has not pursued a specific 5-year development plan, efforts have been directed toward expanding the economic base and diversifying non-oil exports.

Incentives

The government has offered numerous incentives to develop Kuwaiti industry, including the following:

1. Medium term low-interest loans at rates of 5 percent or less.
2. Long term leases at industrial sites at nominal rents.

3. Investments aimed at encouraging private enterprise in industry.
4. Guaranteed discounts on electricity and water for industry.
5. Various protective tariffs for different industries.
6. Giving preference to locally produced goods in government purchases, at prices designed to help the industry become profitable.
7. Tax exemptions.

#### Industry and Finance

Between 1974 and 1984 the Kuwait Industrial Bank, of which the government of Kuwait owns a controlling share, offered loans totaling 262 million Kuwaiti dinars to finance 326 projects valued at 563 million dinars. These projects were represented as follows: construction materials: 48 projects with a total capitalization of 176 million dinars; chemicals; 56 projects with a total capitalization of 80 million dinars; minerals: 47 projects with a total capitalization of 78 million Kuwaiti dinars; food and drink: 39 projects with a total capitalization of 75 million dinars.

The commercial banks have also offered financing to industry, providing 145 million Kuwaiti dinars in 1984, 25 percent less than in 1982. During the first half of 1985 the amount again fell by 5.96 percent to 136.6 million Kuwait dinars, or approximately 3.6 percent of total financing offered by the commercial banks, which amounted to about 4,175,000 dinars of of 30 June 1985.

#### Fundamental Problems Stifling Industry

Although the government has provided various economic and financial incentives to help the nation's industrialization, industry still faces numerous economic difficulties. Among the most significant problems are the following:

1. The lack of a coherent and integrated strategy for industrial development.
2. A limited market, since Kuwait has only 1.6 million inhabitants.
3. The absence of the skilled and trained workforce required by industry, which means that Kuwait must depend on imported foreign workers.
4. A lack of managerial skills necessary for overseeing industrial projects.
5. The lack of raw materials besides oil.
6. The fact that the local market is open to foreign competition.
7. The absence of high import duties to protect new industries.

The preceding factors are considered to have been responsible for the failure of several industrial projects here.



## A Point of Change

The slowdown in economic activity and decreased exports to neighboring countries have begun to affect the level of operations in a number of industrial establishments.

As numerous infrastructure projects in Kuwait are completed, many industrial projects are losing their retail market, particularly those which produce construction materials. In addition, Iraq's liquidity problems and the reluctance of Kuwaiti organizations to expand credit facilitations have contributed to closing a big market to Kuwaiti industry. Moreover, the completion of numerous projects in neighboring Gulf countries, particularly on the east coast of Saudi Arabia, have also closed numerous markets to Kuwaiti organizations. In fact, when there were numerous Saudi and Bahraini projects similar to Kuwaiti projects, those countries began to compete with Kuwait in their local markets.

Another element also contributed to the decline of many industrial organizations, namely the involvement by many of them in stockmarket speculation, particularly in the al-Manakh market. The collapse of this market took many organizations by surprise, just as they were anticipating quick, short-term profits by using postdated checks. This caused serious losses for some, exhausted their reserves and sometimes a portion of their capital. Many organizations then turned their energies away from their primary purposes to speculate in the stock market. In addition to slowing down the local economy this caused a drop in the export market and brought many of them to the brink of bankruptcy.

Mismanagement may have been another important factor in the reversals experienced by industrial organizations, particularly those with absentee owners, or because of mismanagement of resources which can occur when the economy and sales begin to fall.

## The Financial Situation and Performance

The correction of the local and regional economics has had an effect upon the financial situation and performance of many local industrial organizations.

The accompanying table provides a summary of the 14 industrial companies officially listed on the Kuwait stock exchange. Even though the performance of Kuwaiti industry as a whole cannot be evaluated on the basis of only 14 companies, most of which are owned primarily by the Kuwaiti government, nevertheless, these data are the only published figures that are available for evaluating the status of this sector.

Total assets amounted to 543 million Kuwaiti dinars in 1984, compared with 642 million dinars in 1983. However, that is due to the fact that 1984 asset figures are not available for two of the companies, the United Kuwaiti Fish Company and the Kuwaiti Melamine Company.

Short and intermediate term loans extended to the 14 industrial companies dropped from 149 million Kuwaiti dinars in 1983 to 100 million at the end of 1984. Capital fell by about 50 million Kuwaiti dinars in 1984 as a result of losses suffered by some companies from stock market speculation. These losses were reflected in net profits for 1983. Five of the 14 original companies suffered losses.

The rate of return on assets showed a marked improvement in 1984, and the rate of return on capital rose from 3.2 percent in 1983 to 7.1 percent in 1984.

#### Expectations

The Kuwaiti economy is suffering from a glut of industrial organizations in view of the fact that the need for the existing organizations will decrease during the next 2 to 3 years in a shrinking market.

For the short term, therefore, we can expect the following during the first part of 1986:

1. Liquidation or merging of weak companies. The minister of finance has received reports on the status of a number of companies, along with recommendations about unprofitable and ineffective companies. Among the companies which are candidates for liquidation are the Kuwait Tire Company, which has not produced any tires at all, and the Kuwait Shipbuilding and Repair Company.
2. A number of companies will have additional losses on their activities in 1985, due to write-offs by a number of them from investments in worthless stocks, or because of a drop in the value of their assets (stocks and real estate).
3. The government is expected to make arrangements to provide additional protection for local industry. Some have been safeguarded, such as those involved in paper products, mineral water, and certain construction materials.
4. The government will urge more local contractors to buy locally produced products.
5. For the intermediate term, the one hope remains that Kuwait's industry depends on the end of the Iraq-Iran war, and on the ability of local companies to provide the products required for the job of reconstruction. Until that happens, Kuwait's industrial crisis is expected to continue.

KUWAIT INDUSTRIAL CORPORATIONS  
Figures in millions of Kuwaiti dinars

Name of Company	Total Assets	Long & Short term Loans	Shareholders' Equity	Net Profit	Return on Assets	Return on Shareholders' Equity	Earnings per Share	Average								
	84	83	84	83	84	83	84	83								
Kuwait Cement	73	88	20	27	39	49	10.09	0.14	13.90	0.16	25.6	0.28	0.40	0.01	45	44
Metal Pipes	64	57	23	22	24	22	1.84	3.84	2.89	6.7	7.7	17.5	0.12	0.25	62	62
National Indus	103	117	10	19	75	75	7.83	4.27	7.62	3.7	10.5	5.7	0.32	0.18	27	35
United K. Fish	-	72	-	29	-	38	-	0.29	-	0.5	-	0.7	-	0.01	-	47
National Car	24	27	7	9	5	9	( 4.00)	(5.40)	(16.9 )	( 1.5 )	(77.3 )	( 4.3 )	0.65	(0.06)	78	65
K. Shipbuilding & Repair	26	32	12	12	10	15	( 4.47)	(6.15)	(17.1 )	(19.4 )	(44.2 )	(41.1 )	(0.22)	(0.3 )	61	53
Warehouses & Refrigerators	23	26	13	17	8	8	1.43	(0.32)	6.16	( 1.2 )	17.0	( 4.1 )	0.22	(0.01)	64	71
Gulf Cables	32	30	2	3	26	24	3.73	8.67	11.5	28.7	14.3	37.0	0.80	2.2	19	22
United Kuwaiti Poultry	16	17	1	2	14	13	1.55	1.37	9.4	8.2	10.9	10.3	0.13	0.12	14	21
K. Melamine	-	14	-	2	-	9	-	(2.70)	-	(18.7 )	-	(29 )	-	(0.2 )	-	37
K. Tires	7	11	-	-	7	10	( 3.32)	(0.87)	(18.1 )	( 8.1 )	( 5.0)	( 9 )	(0.35)	(0.1 )	4	8
K. Pharmaceuticals.	7	3	2	-	5	3	0.08	0.08	1.16	2.3	1.6	2.3	0.02	0.03	28	5
K. Petroleum Investment	132	137	-	-	125	126	5.38	6.86	2.1	5.0	4.3	5.5	0.05	0.06	5	8
Marine Contract	36	-	11	-	13	-	4.77	-	13.3	-	37.6	-	0.65	-	65	-
TOTAL	543	642	100	149	351	402	24.91	13.21	4.6	2.1	7.1	3.3	0.16	0.05	35	37

KUWAIT

DECISION TO PURCHASE IRAQI GAS EXPLAINED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 11 Jan 86 p 35

[Article: "Iraqi Gas to Kuwait: Is This the First Step Toward an Integrated Gulf Economy?"]

[Text] Lower oil production in Kuwait has forced the government to import associated gas from Iraq in the wake of increased consumption of electricity and water.

The Iraqi-Kuwaiti agreement by which Iraq will supply Kuwait with 400 million cubic feet of associated gas a day is being closely followed by observers because it is a first step in cooperation among Gulf states in oil matters, and also because Kuwait, which has more oil reserves than any other country in the region except Saudi Arabia, is importing associated gas. It may even seem to be a mystery to those who do not have data about oil.

Associated gas is gas that accompanies oil when it is pumped up. It is chemically different from natural gas which is pumped from underground without oil. Natural gas is much purer and chemically preferable to associated gas. So why is Kuwait importing associated gas despite the fact that it has oil reserves of more than 90 billion barrels, or according to some experts, 200 billion barrels--which exceeds even Saudi reserves--and can obtain associated gas with each barrel that is extracted?

Several factors have impelled Kuwait to import associated gas from al-Rumaylah fields in Iraq.

1. Kuwait's oil production is lower these days, amounting to between 700,000 and a million barrels a day at best. As a result, associated gas is not produced in sufficient quantities for its numerous domestic uses, particularly in electrical generators, sea water purification, and in industrial uses, such as fertilizer production. Kuwait's consumption of associated gas has increased greatly in the last few years due to increased consumption of water and electricity. The Ministry of Electricity and Water was recently compelled to come up with a plan to raise the price of electricity, largely to consumers who were using excessive amounts of current. The plan has not yet won the approval of the National Assembly. Several electrical problems have arisen as a result of increased consumption, forcing the

ministry to enlarge the al-Dawah and al-Shu'aybah generators, which are the two main generators. It was later compelled to build new generators, which are the two main generators. It was later compelled to build new generators. Nevertheless, these generators will not be sufficient for the future if the demand for electricity should continue to grow at the current rate. The cost of electricity in Kuwait is quite moderate, and is lower than in most countries.

2. The economic benefit of the gas liquefaction plant, which was designed in the early 1970's and which began operation in 1978, was based on the quantity of associated gas obtained from pumping 3 million barrels of oil a day. However, the oil situation which came about during the construction of the project in the mid 1970's and after its completion in the late 1970's and early 1980's put the project in trouble. After 1973 in the wake of the five-fold rise in oil prices, the Kuwaiti National Assembly decided to reduce oil production from 3 million barrels a day to 2 million. It had been influenced by reports at the time suggesting that the continued production of oil at the rate of 3 million barrels a day would lead to the depletion of Kuwaiti oil in 25 years, in the 1990's. Kuwaiti authorities approved of this reduction in view of the fact that its oil revenues and its income from foreign investments were much more than sufficient. So early in 1980 Kuwait's Ministry of Oil decided to lower the production ceiling to 1.5 million barrels a day. It has since been lowered to 1.25 million barrels a day, and is now about 1 million barrels a day. It has become clear that the economic benefit of the associated gas liquefaction project has been nil as long as oil production has not increased, but increased production is unthinkable at this time of depressed oil prices. Therefore, one goal of the gas importation is to increase production at the liquefaction plant to an economically reasonable level.

3. Iraq owes Kuwait several billion dollars, which it borrowed to help finance its war and make up for losses due to a halt in oil exports. Perhaps Iraq is sending the associated gas to Kuwait as a way of paying off its debt. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait are still exporting about 300,000 barrels of oil from the neutral zone for Iraq.

4. It will not be sufficient for Kuwait to import only Iraqi associated gas. It will also import Saudi natural gas and associated gas and Qatari natural gas as soon as that becomes possible once the Gulf pipeline project, which is in the planning stage, is implemented.

According to preliminary reports, Kuwait will import about \$400,000 worth of gas per day, or about \$140 million worth a year. The gas will be transported through a pipeline. The project will be implemented in two phases. Work on the first phase will begin next June, when 200 million cubic feet will be transported. The remainder will be delivered a short time later, when the pipeline system, which will link Iraqi gas pipelines with Kuwaiti industrial installations, including the gas liquefaction plant in al-Shu'aybah district, is completed.

The pipeline, which is currently under construction, will be only 100 km long, which explains why it will take only 5 months to complete. Iraq's

al-Rumaylah field is one of the richest oil fields in the world, and Iraq produces 800,000 barrels a day from it. It is located on Kuwait's northern border. In order for Iraq to provide the amount of gas needed by Kuwait it will have to produce 500,000 barrels a day. It will transport it through recently built pipelines which extend from southern Iraq to Buqaye in eastern Saudi Arabia.

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CSO: 4404/199

LEBANON

## CENTRAL BANK MOVES TO COMBAT SPECULATION

Beirut CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY in English 7 Feb 86 pp 17-19

[Text] CNA--Some important developments took place in the Central Bank during the past few days. First the Central Bank issued the two memoranda no. 619 and 621 regarding the policies of the private banks speculation on the Lebanese pound with foreign currency. One of them stipulates also the fines payable in some cases where speculations of this kind exceed a certain acceptable limit.

But whether these 2 memoranda are the cause or whether there is another cause involved in the issue, etc, 2 deputies to the C.B. Governor, have decided to refrain from supporting the Governor in his policy especially with regard to the measures taken against speculations in foreign currency. The 2 deputies, namely the first one, Dr. Hussein Kanaan and the third one Mr Sameer Akary have charged the Governor, Dr Edmond Naeem of taking decisions without consulting with them.

This dual decision to withdraw their support to the Governor was confirmed by sources in the Bank Owners Association. And yesterday many political efforts were deployed in a bid to make the 2 deputies change their minds. But all the contacts remained fruitless.

The radio station "Sawt El Watan" mentioned yesterday that disciplinary measures would be taken against the private banks which would be caught red-handed speculating in a manner likely to put the lebanese pound at risk. This refers, of course, to the speculation in US dollars.

The same radio station added that the ceiling of such speculations with foreign currencies was being exceeded by private banks to the tune of about one billion L.P. And as a result of this excess, fines of up to 18 million L.P. per day were payable to the Central Bank.

And in a statement issued yesterday, the Governor of the C.B. declared that he had no intention to cancel the 2 memoranda no 619 and 621. Needless to add that the daily fine of 1% which adds up to 364% per year is of a cumulative character and while checks on bank dealings in foreign currencies were being conducted on a weekly basis previously, daily checks are now the order of the day.

And it was learned that some banks have expressed their dissatisfaction with these new measures taken by the Central Bank to combat speculation in foreign currency. But some sources indicated that this dissatisfaction was motivated by the losses that these banks were copping as a result of the C.B. measures. The same sources revealed that the Central Bank was applying the disciplinary measures in an impartial manner without taking sides and while having only the interest of the bank at heart. By the same token all the measures taken were within the regulations and the code of the bank.

On the other hand some other sources indicated that the power to speculate against the lebanese pound has shrunked as a result of the diminishing cash flow of the speculating banks. This has enabled foreign observers to predict that the month of February will see a decline in wild fluctuations of foreign currencies at the expense of the national pound. The month of February, the same observers added, would be a month of waiting and would witness a decline in the exchange value of the US dollar. And predictably also this decline of the US dollar would go hand in hand with a progressive stability on the political front where positive signs have been spotted lately.

Independent observers have indicated also that the private banks operating in Lebanon have realized huge profits as a result of speculations against the lebanese pound and other currencies.

The story is told about 1 single bank which achieved on its own up to 150 million L.P. in profits in the past year. These profits represent 5 times the declared capital of the bank.

Sources in the Central Bank have indicated also that speculation in foreign currencies was a dangerous game which could endanger the painstakingly accumulated savings of an average citizen. Therefore the average people were warned against getting involved in this game and thus falling prey to the bigger fish.

Private banks were advised to take the Central Bank measures into consideration and stop antagonizing the constructive policies of the monetary authorities.

As for the volume of cash involved in the daily speculations, it was said to be close to 20 million L.P. But in the unusual days when speculations against the pound are at their highest, the monetary volume is estimated to reach 30 or 40 million US dollars per day. And as a result of this commodity prices would follow suit and wild fluctuations would ensue.

It was revealed also that foreign banks were actively involved in speculation against the lebanese pound. But as a result of the wise monetary measures taken by the Central Bank over the past few days, these foreign speculations have declined considerably.

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CSO: 4400/129



PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

PLO OFFICE DIRECTORS REASSIGNED

Nicosia FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 4 Jan 86 p 23

[Text] One of the hot topics that the PLO's political department is working on these days is the status of the PLO's representations, embassies and offices in a number of friendly Arab countries. Sources of the political department in Tunis confirmed that the department has a new work plan involving the PLO's office directors, employees and their responsibilities. The plan aims to achieve greater effectiveness and improve the activities and performance of these offices in all fields.

One of the important points in this plan is that office directors and employees would serve a maximum of 3 years in any country before transferring to another country. In light of this plan, Faruq Qaddumi [Abu al-Lutf] has asked the department's general administration section to present a detailed report on the status of PLO offices and the length of service of office directors and employees. The report will be presented to the PLO's Executive Committee at its next round of meetings.

In connection with the same plan, a decision was made to promote 'Abd-al-Latif Abu Hijlah [Abu Ja'far] to director general of the political department. His replacement as director in the department will be Zakariyah 'Abd-al-Rahim [Abu Yahya]. Sa'id Kamal was appointed also as a director in the political department.

In addition, al-Tayyib 'Abd-al-Rahim was appointed director of the PLO office in Egypt. He will be assisted by Zuhdi al-Qudrah as deputy director. Dr 'Isam Kamil was appointed director of the PLO office in Moscow. Nasir al-Qudwah, the chairman of the General Union of Palestinian Students, will replace Kamil as director of the PLO office in Berlin. Abu Ja'far al-Sadiq was appointed director of the PLO office in Sofia replacing 'Abd-al-Fattah al-Qalqili who was transferred to the general administration section in the political department's main office. Fu'ad al-Bitar, director of the PLO office in Rome was transferred to Athens. He was replaced by Nimr Hammad, the director of the PLO office in Belgrade.

In addition, it has been decided to transfer Samir Abu Ghazalah [Hajj Talal] from Cyprus to Belgrade to become director of the PLO's office there. He will be replaced by Mas'ud al-Ghandur who will transfer from Athens to Nicosia.

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CSO: 4404/246

QATAR

## ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS TOUTED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 22 Feb 86 pp 46-47

[Article: "The Anniversary of Khalifah bin Hamad's Rule: 14 Years of Prosperity; 14 Years of Beneficence"]

[Text] On the 22nd of February Qatar celebrates its 14th national day and, as is the case every year, Qatar will make this national holiday an occasion distinct from similar celebrations in other nations of the world. There are athletic and cultural events going on throughout the young emirate in which every official, led by Shaykh Khalifah bin Hamad Al Thani, participates alongside the Qatari people. Shaykh Khalifah usually uses national occasions to put on display before his people economic, social, and cultural activities.

On the 20th of this past January, Shaykh Khalifah appeared before his people at a cultural event to tell them about the role of science in the road to progress and its importance in building the modern Qatari society, which is advancing by rapid steps on its road to development and progress.

This 22 February has been transformed into an occasion to exhibit what has been achieved in terms of industrial production, especially in the field of petrochemicals, and the role that industry has played in economic growth. Qatar's economy is an underdeveloped one, in the first phase of development, despite the existence of the basic industries founded on gas and oil and the large amount of GNP. The petroleum and gas sector dominates all economic activity in the country. The historical resolution that the amir of Qatar issued in 1974, decreeing state control of its natural oil and gas resources and its ownership of all administrative and development authority, forms a definite milestone in the path of the Qatari economy.

### Industrial Activity

As the Qatari industrial policy is based on diversifying the sources of national income and creating diversified employment opportunities for the coming generations, the Technical Center for Industrial Development was founded in 1973 to take responsibility for planning the course of

industrialization according to studied scientific planning, in coordination with different state agencies. This is in addition to providing services and public utilities like roads, electricity, water, etc.

#### An Iron and Steel Factory

The iron and steel complex at Umm Sa'id, which is based on a high tech method for reducing the iron ore, is considered the first completely technical factory in the Middle East and Arab Gulf region. The cost of the plant was 1.1 billion Qatari riyals. It opened for production in 1978. It achieved record output and export figures, amounting in 1985 to 501,068 tons.

#### The Qatar Chemical Fertilizer Company

The first plant began production at the end of 1973 and cost 1.36 billion Qatari riyals. In view of the increase in the world demand for chemical fertilizers, the state planned to build a new fertilizer plant in 1976, at a cost of 1.36 million riyals. The high volume of production realized in 1984 amounted to 632 metric tons of ammonia and 734,000 metric tons of urea. The fertilizer industry has played an important role in helping the Qatari economy, especially after the fertilizer products found important markets in East Asia.

#### The Cement Industry

The cement industry is considered one of the oldest industries in the emirate. The cement factories are located in the Umm Bab region, as the raw materials gypsum and limestone are found there. Annual output reached its greatest limits in 1985--amounting to 261,500 tons. The company is currently studying the feasibility of a fourth oven in order to provide all the country's requirements into the future.

#### The Qatar Petrochemical Company

A petrochemical plant whose construction took 5 years has been built in the Masay'id region, intended to exploit petroleum associated gas. The amir inaugurated it in February 1981 and it is considered the largest petrochemical plant in the Arab world and the first of its kind in the Gulf. The plant has witnessed a remarkable growth in production during 1984 because of an increase in the flow ratio of feedstock of gas rich in ethane, which the Qatar Petrochemical Company had been suffering a shortage of in the past.

#### The Natural Gas Liquids Plants

The natural gas liquids plant in Umm Sa'id represents the most modern industrial project in Qatar and an important economic landmark exploiting the tremendous resource of natural gas. The Qatar General Petroleum Company under the Ministry of Finance and Petroleum has had responsibility for managing and supervising the project since 1981. It cost 1.7 billion riyals to build. The plant comprises two units. The first is for

separating the associated gas produced at the onshore fields and the second is for separating associated gas from the offshore fields. The plant is considered to be one of the most modern in terms of technology and design strength.

The Northern gas field is considered to be one of the largest non-associated natural gas fields in the country. It will be a tremendous addition to the country's resources in finding economic alternatives to oil resources on the one hand and a pioneer project for the good of future generations on the other. Thus, the state is taking rapid measures to complete the preparation and planning for this project in order to enter the operational phase. The project's total cost has been estimated to be \$6.4 billion. It will answer the country's growing need for gas to produce electrical power, for purifying water, and for agricultural and industrial projects.

#### The Qatar Flour Mills Company

This is considered to be one of the most outstanding food industries, founded with the participation of the private sector. Yearly production in 1984 was 17,915 tons of flour and 8,153 tons of bran.

As the policy that the Qatari state has followed since the early days of its creation is based on the participation of the people in important decisions related to their lives and livelihoods, the state in cooperation with the private sector has established a large number of light and medium industries in order to prod the private sector into domestic industrial and commercial investment. This will lead to reducing the amount paid out on the importation of goods by the value of the consumer goods that can be produced locally by the private sector. Alongside the petroleum sector, Qatar has built factories for leather, paper, liquid batteries, chemical cleaners, and foodstuffs, especially dairy products.

Ninety-six private industrial establishments were given licenses through the end of 1985, an addition of 22 since the previous year.

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SYRIA

STRUCTURE OF REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH UNION EXPLAINED

Damascus SYRIA TIMES in English 14 Jan 86 p 3

[Article by Tomader Fateh]

[Text]

When the third Congress of the Revolutionary Youth Union (RYU) convene in April, 1986, twelve years would have elapsed since the establishment of the Union. This is no doubt a relatively short period of time when compared to what h organization in a society such as that of Syria, which has suffered, similar conditions imposed on the developing countries.

The general view of the young people is that they are the generation qualified to make the revolution and to enable it to be mature. This means that the task of the RYU is to continue to bring up a generation equipped to create advanced social relations producing a dynamic revolutionary climate capable of ending historical differences among members of that generation, and giving rise to a revolutionary force which releases the social potential among the men and women of the country. Though the period of twelve years in the life of the RYU is a short one, the Union has been able to achieve objectives of great achievements; it has become a prominent reality and an established fact in the life of the young, and the march of

Syrian society, particularly after the joint meeting of the Ba'ath Party Regional and National Leaderships on May 26, 1968 when Resolution No. 112 announced the birth of the RYU, as an educational political organization, supporting the Party and defining its organizational form, outlining the nature of its struggle on the internal, Arab and international levels.

The RYU enlists all youth in the country between the age of 14 and 27 in Syria and other Arab countries, who do not have youth organizations of their own.

Membership in the RYU is voluntary, its leadership is elected on a democratic basis and it, moreover, takes a pyramidal structure beginning with the unit, through the association, the branch and then the Union.

As for objectives, the major task is to provide generations of Arab youth with a nationalist and socialist education as an instrument of the struggle to create a united socialist Arab society. In accordance with this the Union attempts to implement certain duties including: attempts to implant nationalistic and socialist ideas

in the mind of youth. On the internal level, the Union contributes to the strengthening of the country and deepening the process of socialization. It provides military training to the young generation to participate in the protection of the Revolution, and the defence of the country. It, moreover, organizes leisure time activities and develops collective work attitudes and socialist community relations. The RYU aim is to develop the intellectual, mental and artistic potentials in young people and create a scientific outlook and a stronger will for them. The RYU encourages sports activities and tries to improve facilities to contribute to the creation of a generation, capable of strengthening the revolution. The RYU draws the framework for training and education. On the national level, the Union struggles against backwardness and fragmentation so as to realize Arab unity on democratic and socialist basis. It also struggles for bolstering fraternal ties and cooperation with youth organizations in the Arab countries, whose aims coincide with ours, and who fight against the Zionist entity and all forms of colonialism in the Arab region, and for the liberation of all usurped rights and territories.

On the international level, the RYU attempts to expose the Zionist movement and its designs as an organic part of international colonialism and imperialism and resists the implementation of such designs. It combats racial discrimination and works with world youth to put an end to imperialism and colonialism. The RYU revives Arab intellectual, social and political heritage, and propagates Arab causes at international

conferences. It establishes relations with all progressive youth organizations throughout the world.

Since its very foundation, the RYU has worked to achieve these objectives.

Development processes realized by the RYU can be listed in two phases: the first phase began with the establishment of the RYU in 1968, and ended with its first General Congress in 1971. The second phase began with the end of the first congress and has continued into the present. Hence, two major issues ought to be taken into consideration to arrive at a more objective understanding of the situation.

The first is the fact that experiment of setting up a youth organization as an educational, and political structure supporting the Party is a pioneering project in the field of youth organizations both at the local and Arab levels, since the formation and structure of this organization are different from any other similar organizations, either in Syria or in other Arab countries. Its immediate goals are also different.

The second is the phase beginning with the establishment of the Union, which lacked the sort of personnel qualified for such pioneering work. Various efforts were made to utilize the expertise of those who had worked in other people's organizations, and RYU members were dispatched to socialist countries to benefit from their experience in this field. Certain difficulties were encountered here, but were soon surmounted by the Union by virtue of its relations with the youth sector in the country.

SYRIA

SOVIETS COOPERATE IN ENERGY, TRANSPORT

Damascus SYRIA TIMES in English 31 Dec 85 p 3

[Article by Bashir Mansour]

[Text] On the occasion of the completion of works of construction of the Euphrates Dam and its hydro-electric station on 8 March, 1978, President Hafez Assad said"

"This dam will ever remain the symbol of eternal friendship between the Syrian Arab people and the Soviet people and an example of good relations between countries of the world".

Soviet technicians and experts have expressed their satisfaction and admiration of the good pace of work now going on in the construction of Al-Ba'ath Dam Nahr el-Kabir al-shamali, northwest of Syria.

During their recent visit to the Euphrates River basin, the ministerial committee inquired about the nature and process of work in the Dam's project, where the Soviet chief expert replied that the sort of work is very complicated, but the Syrian engineers and workers, however, are carrying out the set work with excellent efficiency and according to technical specifications. We on our part, are exerting efforts to maintain the pace of work at a high rate, qualitatively and quantitatively. I confidently can say that there are no handicaps hindering the

process of work at Al-Ba'ath Dam.

Cooperation relations between Syria and the Soviet Union date back to the 1960's, that is to the launching of the 8th March 1963 Revolution. Although joint relations began relatively slow, they were accelerated, enhanced and deepened with the launching of the 8th March 1963 Revolution. Although joint relations began relatively slow, they were accelerated, enhanced and deepened with the launching of the glorious Correctionist Movement led by President Hafez Assad in 1970.

Within the framework of the close and strong friendship and cooperation relations linking Syria with the Soviet Union, the Soviet Cultural Centre in Damascus organised series of lectures on joint Syrian-Soviet cooperation in the fields of energy, prospection for oil and means of transport. The lectures were given in the course of the country's celebrations of the 15th anniversary of the Correctionist Movement.

The first lecture entitled "The Development of the Energy Industry in Syria and Syrian-Soviet Cooperation" was read by Golen Alexander,

economic expert at the Soviet Embassy in Damascus, on the 11th of the current month, in which he said:

Syria's consumption of electric power increased between the years 1972-1984 from 1 billion kilowatt per hour to 7.3 billion k.w/h, that's more than seven fold. In the last five years, the annual production of power increased over 20 per cent.

Electric power in Syria is produced by hydraulic gas, and thermal turbines. The power output derived from the Euphrates Dam power station amounts to 800 megawatt. It is considered a reliable source of power supply and a stable reserve in emergencies in the Syrian power supply system. Mr. Alexander adds that the Euphrates Dam power station was built with the help of Soviet technical expertise. The Soviet Union is now carrying out the construction of a huge electric 220V cable network 4 thousand kilometers long. Mr. Alexander adds that the Syrian Ministry of electricity has prepared a wide power programme for the coming five years and in some aspects for the coming ten years. This programme takes into account the big increase of power consumption and the putting of power-generating stations in operation. Electric wire networks will also be extended, and the whole of the Syrian countryside will be electrified.

The second lecture entitled, "Soviet-Syrian Cooperation in the prospection for oil" was read by "Kochyok Kim", expert in oil affairs, on 13 November, 1985. In it he said:

Prospection work in Syria began in 1910. But major developments in the oil industry did not happen before the foreign oil companies were nationalized and the Syrian Ministry of Oil was set up.

In 1957, a Syrian-Soviet agreement was signed, under which the USSR rendered technical assistance in the oil industry. The Soviet union also participated, in 1968, in exploiting the oil-fields in al-Sweidiyeh, Krachouk and Rumailan and later, in Jbeiseh and Tishrin. Over 1,150 oil-wells were drilled, 800 wells of which were drilled by Soviet machinery. Soviet assistance also covered the preparation of national Syrian cadres. 2,900 Syrian oil-workers received training courses on oil prospection and machinery. Syrian engineers and technicians also get acquainted, every year, with up-to-date knowledge in oil regions and scientific research institutes at the USSR.

Syrian oil resources, Mr. Kim adds, enable her to solve all power and fuel problems, which has become a complicated problem for many developing countries.

The third and last lecture entitled "Syrian-Soviet Cooperation on Railway Transport", was read by "Kuna Blene Nikolei, Soviet expert on building railways, on 15 November, 1985, in which he said:

Due to the great importance of railway networks in the USSR, Mr. Nikolei; commenced his lecture by pointing out the developments which the Soviet Union has witnessed in this regard.

He said that Soviet railway networks use automatic systems and mechanical T.V. systems. Soviet railway networks are capable of transporting 11 million tonnes of loads, and 11 million passengers every day. Soviet railway transport represents more than one half of the world's railway transport. On Syrian-Soviet cooperation on railway transport, Mr. Nikolei; said that the first agreement in



this respect was signed in October, 1977. During the last 28 years, the Soviet Union contributed to building, repairing and restoring railways in Syria, of 1,400 kilometers long and another 370 k.m. line will be built and 200 k.m.'s will be restored. Then a full Syrian railway network will be complete covering the whole of Syria. Railway transport has so far increased 150 percent. Some 4.5 million tonnes of loads were transported on rails so far this year and 3.5 million passengers made use of Syrian railways.

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CSO: 4400/128

SYRIA

COMMUNICATIONS MINISTRY REVIEWS CURRENT ROAD PROJECTS

Damascus SYRIA TIMES in English 11 Feb 86 p 3

[Article by R. Zein]

[Text]

Over the past fifteen years, strenuous efforts have been exerted to carry out comprehensive development plans with a view to establishing modern Syria.

Numerous vital services projects have been executed to mark the development of Syria which has witnessed a radical change manifested through the achievement of great economic and social accomplishments of which the entire nation is proud of.

The development of the country's communication sector has been one of the prime objectives of the government's five-year plans. Because this sector constituted a vital tool of the state's economic activities and plays an important role in activating the process of economic development, the government has paid special attention to it with a view to develop production and to render services to all categories of society. The government's multi-purpose development plans were

drawn up, among other things, to support the transport and communication sector thanks to the fact that the country's geographical location is a link between the Middle East region and the West. Huge amounts of money were earmarked to develop this sector and to carry out numerous projects, including the construction of motorways and roads, the development of airports and harbours and the upgrading of the telecommunication sector. First-class motorways have been established between Damascus and Aleppo, between Damascus and Deir ez-Zour, and between Homs and Lattakia. A railway network has also been built to link Damascus with Qamishli, Raqqa, Aleppo, Lattakia, Tartous, Hama and Homs. A number of ringroads and bridges were built in several areas to decrease communication jams and to facilitate transport. Perhaps the most distinguished road project is

the Damascus-Deir ez-Zour road through Palmyra which shortens to 400 km the distance between the two cities.

Road construction and renovation projects have been given top priority by the government so as to link villages with the main cities and to facilitate socio-economic exchange operations between the governorates throughout the country. According to statistics, the total length of the country's asphalted roads increased from 4,926 km in 1963 to 17,238 in 1983 (three-fold increase), and that more than 1,950 km-long roads were paved. Many motorways have been built in various parts of the country in order to enlarge and modernize the country's road network and to link production centres in the northeastern part of the country with the exportation and consumer regions in the west and the south.

Among the road construction projects which are carried out by the Communications Ministry are the following:

1- The establishment of the Lattakia-Tartous motorway which is being executed by state-owned construction companies. The LS-500-million project will be completed before the end of the current year.

2- The al-Dalieh-Abu Qbeis road which has recently been inaugurated. The importance of this project lies in the fact that it links the coastal region with the mountainous areas

and connects the governorates of Lattakia, Tartous and Hama. The greater part of this vital project has been completed and put into operation. The al-Dalieh-Abu Qbeis road has ended the isolation of many villages because it linked the towns and villages of the coast with al-Ghab region which includes the towns of Hama, Mahardeh, Mesiaf, Abu Qbeis and Salhab.

3- The Communication Ministry is making every possible effort to speed up construction of the al-Sahel (coast)-al-Ghab road project. This project is one of the most important road projects in the country because it links internal areas with the coastal region. It will make a radical change in the country's transport movement because it will link the production and economic areas with the export harbours and will shorten distances between the region's towns and villages. The project will be put into operation next October.

4- During the past year, the Ministry constructed a number of international roads, the length of which reached to around 1,000 km at a cost of two billion Syrian pounds. These included the Damascus-Lebanese border highway and the Damascus-Baghdad road of 3000 km.

5- Work is underway to renovate Aleppo-Khan-al-Jouz road which links the country's

eastern part with the coastal mountains. The project will soon be completed and put into operation. Moreover, Aleppo-al-Ya'roubieh road is another vital project which is being carried out at a cost of LS 543 million and will ensure communication between the governorates of Aleppo, Raqqa and Hassaka.

6- Al-Salamieh, al-Rasafa and Raqqa road projects are also being executed at a cost of LS 200 million in addition to the development of rural roads in the region.

7- Studies have already been completed to build the Aleppo, Idleb, Ariha, Lattakia and Tartous motorway of 90 km, at a cost of one billion pounds.

8- Work is also in progress to complete the Damascus-Dara'a motorway which is very

significant to the heavily-populated areas in the south of the country and to export operations along the Damascus-Amman road. The LS-580-million road of 104 km will be completed soon.

9- Many motorways and bridges have been built inside the country's main cities, particularly Damascus which has witnessed a remarkable development in the establishment of motor-ways and the setting up of multi-purpose bridges.

In fact, the motorway and road construction projects have succeeded in promoting the country's economic, social and cultural living conditions and in meeting the increased volume of traffic requirements.

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SYRIA

ROAD CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS CARRIED OUT IN 1985

Damascus SYRIA TIMES in English 2 Jan 86 p 2

[Text]

**DAMASCUS, (ST) —** The Syrian government has always paid great attention to the development of communication means. Therefore, work has been maintained to construct roads, bridges, and railways.

Head of the Road and Bridges Construction Department at the Communications Ministry, Mr. Yassin Samara, has said constructed 5,500 kms of roads about 576 km of which were motorways.

Meanwhile, the construction of road networks in the governorate, he added, has been entrusted to the Technical Services Directorates in the governorates.

However, he added, statistics indicate that the road-construction projects carried out in the governorate have reached 14,500 kms. Expenses on these projects, he went on, reached about LS 750 million. LS 200 million of which were spent on repair and maintenance works.

About road-construction projects carried out in 1985, he pointed out, the first part of the Damascus-Jordanian borders motorway was completed at a total cost of LS 300 million. Work, he said, is going on to complete the second part of the 104-km-long motorway project.

Moreover, he went on, the Damascus-Lebanese border motorway has also been completed. The 40-km-long

project, he said, has cost over LS 300 million.

A 23-km-long diversion leading to the city of Hama from the Damascus-Tartous motorway, he said, was also completed in 1985, at a total cost of over LS 150 million.

Another diversion leading to Hama city has been completed at a cost of LS 100 million.

Also in 1985, he said, the 90-km-long Homs-Tartous motorway was completed at a total cost of about LS 450 million.

The Ministry, he said, constructed about 24 kms of the highway linking al-Ghab region with the coastal region.

A 13-km-long highway between Idleb and Hazanou was completed at a cost of LS 40 million.

About 90 per cent of the 105-km-long Homs-Ma'lola highway has been carried out and work is going on to complete the project in the current year.

The Ministry, he said, also carried out the Aleppo-Tel Kujak highway, the length of which is about 457 kilometers. This project is considered one of the most important projects carried out by the Ministry in 1985, as it links Aleppo with the northern regions of the country.

A number of other road-construction projects, he pointed out, were also carried out as well as the repairing of numerous existing roads and highways.

SYRIA

EUPHRATES BASIN DEVELOPMENT FEATURES DAMS, IRRIGATION

Damascus SYRIA TIMES in English 27 Jan 86 p 3

[Article by R. Zein]

[Text] The establishment of modern Syria, a goal pursued by the government, has been characterized by many vital investment and services projects that have been carried out in different parts of the country. Strenuous efforts have been exerted by the government in the past fifteen years to improve socio-economic conditions throughout the country and to increase the country's national income through setting up gigantic projects that have contributed greatly to the promotion of the nation's march of development and progress.

Raqqa is one of the country's main governorates and has been paid special attention by the government, thanks to the governorate's location at the Euphrates River, the lifeline of the entire nation. Several vital projects were executed following the establishment of the Euphrates dam which is the backbone of the country's economic plans and a basic tool for achieving comprehensive development plans. The Euphrates Dam which was built in cooperation with the friendly Soviet Union is the country's main source of energy. It has a production

capacity of around 2.5 billion kilowatt ampere (KWA) of electricity per annum. The Dam irrigates more than 640,000 hectares of land in the entire area. Work is being carried out to raise the water level of the dam to four meters. This LS-60- million-project aims to increase the storage capacity of the dam from 11.6 billion cubic meters to 14.1 billion and to increase the dam-generated electricity to an output of 280 million KWA per year. The project is expected to be completed by the end of 1987.

The construction of the "al-Ba'ath Dam" is another vital project which is being executed in the area. The Dam is located behind the Euphrates Dam (27 kilometers distance) and aims to regulate the flow of the Euphrates waters which come from the al-Thawra hydrau-electric power station, to minimize the fluctuation of the level of these waters and to make use of stored waters to generate around 375 million KWA of electricity per annum. The generation of power is to be produced by means of three generating units, having a capacity of 25 megawatts each. The total cost of al-Ba'ath dam construction project is

estimated at LS 770 million and the first generating unit will be put into operation during the first half of the current year.

Moreover, the General Establishment of the Euphrates Dam last September started geological studies and prepared technical designs to set up the Tishreen Dam. The site of the Dam is near Yousef Basha village which is 80 kilometers away from the Syrian-Turkish borders. Work is underway to build the LS-2-billion dam which aims to generate around 1.6 billion KWA of electricity per year and to irrigate a thousand hectares of land in the region.

On the other hand, more than 1.38 billion was earmarked by the General Establishment of Land Reclamation for 1985 to carry out land cultivation projects in the Euphrates basin. Around 70,000 hectares of land have recently been reclaimed in the basin: 21,000 hectares in the "pioneering project", 10,000 hectares in the Beer al'Hasham area, 24,000 hectares in the middle Euphrates region and 15,000 hectares west of Maskaneh town. Work is being executed to cultivate more than 57,000 hectares of land in the areas of al-Bleikh, the lower Euphrates and east and west of Maskaneh. Several irrigation projects are currently being executed to accompany operations of land cultivation in the region. The main irrigation projects which are being carried out by the General Company of Irrigation Constructions include the following:

1- The Bleikh irrigation canal construction project:

This canal construction project aims to irrigate more than 90,000 hectares of cultivated land in the Bleikh basin area. The width of the

canal at its beginning is 12.5 meters and 7.5 meters at its end and the depth of water is 4 meters. The first stage of the project which included the setting up of an 18-Km-long canal at an outlet capacity of 140 cubic meters per second was completed at the beginning of last year (1985) at a cost of LS 270 million. Work continues to speed up the carrying out of the second stage of the project. The second part of the Bleikh Canal has a length of 52 kilometers and will have an outlet capacity of 85 cubic meters per second. The total cost of the second stage amounted to LS 410 million. The third part of the canal will be built at the point where the second part crosses al-Bleikh River.

2- The main pumping station at al-Assad Lake:

This station is the biggest in the country and has an outlet capacity of 93 cubic meters of water per second. The pumping station will irrigate around 175,000 hectares of cultivated land west of Maskaneh town. The total cost of putting up the station amounted to LS 450 million and is expected to be completed by the end of 1987.

3- Work is underway to establish a main drawing canal at a length of 52 kilometers and with an outlet capacity of 90 cubic meters of water per second near the main pumping station. The canal construction project will cost around LS 570 and will be put into operation when the main pumping station is completed.

4- Another big pumping station is to be set up in the Bleikh basin area to irrigate more than 17,500 hectares of land, which is now being cultivated east of Maskaneh town. The LS 150-million pumping station will have an outlet capacity of 30 cubic meters of water per second and will be

completed by the end of 1988.

Other vital investment and services projects are underway to improve socio-economic conditions of the Raqqa governorate, particularly the Euphrates basin. Tens of modern villages and many housing units will be established in the region. Scores of peasants' cooperatives and agricultural production cooperatives will soon be founded. According to the fifth five-year plan drawn up by the Ministry of Electricity, 400 villages throughout the governorate were provided with electricity. During last year, only 190 villages have been provided with electricity. Other projects including the establishment of irrigation and sewage networks, the paving and asphaltting of roads, the building of industrial installations and the levelling of land are also being completed.

Being one of the country's main agricultural

governorates, Raqqa was given special attention by the government to develop agricultural produce. More than 295,000 dunums of land were planted with cotton during the past year. The governorate's cotton production will reach 85,000 tonnes during the current year. Around 55,000 dunums of land were planted with yellow corn and more than 7,000 tonnes of corn have been produced. Unceasing efforts are being exerted to develop agricultural production of wheat, barley and sesame. Around 57,000 tonnes of wheat and more than 500 tonnes of barley at the value of LS 86 million were produced by the governorate during the past year. Growing of "condensed" as well as of winter crops are being developed in the Beer al-Hasham area.

Raqqa will, in the coming few years, witness a process of comprehensive development and will be the pride of the country.

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SYRIA

IRRIGATION DIRECTOR LISTS DAM PROJECTS

Damascus SYRIA TIMES in English 4 Feb 86 p 3

[Article by Tomader Fateh]

[Text]

Due to the great importance of dam-construction projects for developing agriculture, Syria Times interviewed the Director of the Dara'a Branch of the General Establishment of Irrigation Construction, Mr. Imad Khouri.

The branch, Mr. Khouri said, was established in 1975 with the aim of carrying out irrigation projects in the governorates of Dara'a, Sweida and Quneitra.

The branch, he said, has so far carried out a number of dam-construction projects, including Jabal al-Arab dam which was completed in 1978. The dam's water storage capacity is about 20 million cubic meters. It costs about LS 10 million, he said. Sahout Bilat dam also completed in 1978, has a capacity of one million cubic meters and its total cost was about LS 3.5 million. The Jubran dam which was completed in 1980, stores about 2.5 million cubic meters of water. It cost about five

million Syrian pounds, Mr Khouri explained.

In the same year, he went on, al-Mushnaf dam was built at a cost of five million Syrian pounds. Its capacity is nearly two million cubic meters of water. In 1984, three dams were completed. The first, al-Teir dam, has a storage capacity of 1.5 m3 and it cost one million Syrian pounds. The second is al-Rum dam, capacity of which is 6.5 million cubic meters. Its total cost ran to seven million pounds, Mr Khouri indicated. The last dam of Khazema cost one million Syrian pounds. It can store up to 500,000 cubic meters.

All these dams, Mr Khouri said, were constructed with a view to meeting the needs of the Sweida governorate for potable water.

In addition, he went on, last year, the branch started to build the Shahba dam to provide drinking water to neighbouring villages. The storing capacity of this dam, he said, is about two million cubic meters. It is expected

to be finalised by the end of the current year and expected to cost about LS 25 million.

In the Dara'a governorate, in 1982, he said, the Branch carried out the Sheikh Miskeen dam, which stores about 15 million m<sup>3</sup> of water. The cost of the said project, he said, was about LS 14 million. Moreover, a 40-km irrigation network fed by the dam, he went on, has also been carried out to irrigate about 12,500 dunums of land. The total cost of the network was LS 12 million.

In the same governorate, he continued, the Branch constructed a dam west of Tafas at a cost of LS 4.5 million. The dam, constructed in 1982, stores 2.5 million cubic meters of water. At present, the Director pointed out, the Branch is carrying out the construction of the dam's irrigation water network, which is expected to supply water to about 3,500 dunums of land and expected to cost about five million Syrian pounds.

In 1984, the Branch carried out the second phase of the Eastern Dara'a Dam. The total cost of the project was about five million Syrian pounds and it irrigates about 3,500 dunums.

In the same year, he went on, the Branch built a six-million pound dam in Eyoon al-Ahd to irrigate about 4,000 dunums of land.

The branch is currently carrying out a number of other projects, including Odwan Dam, the cost of

which is expected to be ten million pounds, and its water storage capacity is estimated at five million cubic meters. The Irrigation Department at the Irrigation Ministry, Mr Khouri noted, is preparing the blueprints of the dam's irrigation network. Work is also going on to complete an irrigation dam in the Tseel area at an estimated cost of seven million Syrian pounds. The dam is expected to irrigate about 7,000 dunums.

In Quneitra governorate, the director said, work is underway to complete a 50-million Syrian pound dam at Ghadeer al-Bustan designed to store about 12 million cubic meters of water and expected to be completed by the first half of 1986.

In addition, Mr Khouri pointed out, a number of minor dam construction projects have been carried out, or are under construction, in the three governorates.

The governorate's Peasants Union held its electoral conference, Mr Khouri said, with the aim of expediting the irrigation and agricultural projects in the area. The conferees discussed issues relating to progress of work on the Yarmouk valley projects for the production of citrus fruits and early season vegetables. They discussed works intended to be carried out at the current stage by the Southern Region's Directorate of Irrigation and Land Reclamation as well as works being carried out by the Dara'a branch of

the General Company for Irrigation Construction.

During its meeting, Mr Khouri added, the Union emphasized the need to develop the agricultural sector and peasants organizations. It underlined the importance of continuing strenuous efforts to develop agricultural production quality and quantity in support of the country's national economy. Mr Khouri added that part of the agricultural projects aimed to develop the country's southern region. More than 100 hectares of land have been reclaimed in the Dahr al-Jabal area; around 350 hectares have been cultivated with various crops and several agricultural guidance units were set up in the area.

Some 140 peasants, Mr Khouri said, joined training courses in the Dara'a area. Several training courses to acquaint agronomists with methods of agricultural mechanization have also been held. Fruit trees will be planted in the area within the framework of the projects, he said.

In all, it can be said that despite the great responsibilities which the country is shouldering, in the process of rebuilding the formula of economic relations, it has stressed the agriculture issue which, in fact, is the very basis of creating a stable economic situation, as an integral part of the country's comprehensive development plan.

/12851

CSO: 4400/129

SYRIA

BRIEFS

ROAD CONSTRUCTION--Homs, (SANA)--The 1986 workplan of the govenorate's General Company for Road Constructions has already been approved. The total value of the plan's works amount to LS 343 million. The Company is currently preparing detailed programmes to carry out road construction projects and to develop work progress. This was said here yesterday by the General Director of the Company, who added that the plan included the completion of the 23 km Jableh-Lattakia motorway construction project and the 140-km-long Tal Alu-Qameshli-Tal Tamer highway. The plan also included execution of road services projects in the governorates of Aleppo, Raqqa, Idleb, Hassaka, Tartous and Lattakia. [Text] [Damascus SYRIA TIMES in English 4 Feb 86 p 3] /12851

CSO: 4400/129

INDIA

PAPERS DISCUSS ARJUN SINGH APPOINTMENT, OTHER CHANGES

G. K. Reddy in HINDU

Madras THE HINDU in English 21 Jan 86 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Jan. 20.

The Congress (I) leader from Andhra Pradesh, Mr. P. Shiv Shankar, has been re-inducted into the Union Cabinet today as Commerce Minister in place of Mr. Arjun Singh, who was appointed yesterday to the newly-created post of vice-president of the party organisation.

Another Minister brought back is the former Bihar Chief Minister, Mr. Chandrashekhar Singh, who has been appointed Minister of State for Petroleum with independent charge.

The Tamil Nadu Congress (I) leader, Mr. P. Chidambaram, who was appointed a Deputy Minister during the last Cabinet expansion, has now been promoted to the rank of a Minister of State in the same Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms, which is under the Prime Minister's charge.

The Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr. P. A. Sangma, has been given independent charge of Labour, replacing Mr. T. Anjiah, who has been appointed one of the general secretaries of the Congress (I) in the course of the latest organisational changes.

These changes do not amount to a major reshuffle, but Mr. Arjun Singh's exit from the Cabinet following the last parliamentary elections from his home State. From the time he was elected subsequently to the Rajya Sabha from Gujarat, it was being said that he would be taken back as soon as a suitable vacancy was found for him.

After he was edged out of the Chief Ministership of Bihar, Mr. Chandrashekhar Singh was appointed a Minister of State with independent charge of Supply and Textiles. But as he failed to get elected to Parliament before the expiry of the six-month time-limit, he had to be dropped during the Cabinet reshuffle. Now, he is back again with the same status as Minister

of State for Petroleum following his recent re-election to Parliament.

The latest changes—involving the exit one Cabinet-rank Minister and two Ministers of State, the re-induction of one former Cabinet-rank Minister and one Minister of State, the transfer of one Minister of State and the promotion of one Deputy Minister to the rank of a Minister of State—are by no means the final instalment of the expansion-cum-reshuffle contemplated by the Prime Minister to improve the quality of his Government. The expectation is that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi will add some more Ministers, most and Mr. Shiv Shankar from Gujarat. But they are not representatives elected from Andhra Pradesh, like Mr. Buta Singh who got elected from Rajasthan since Punjab did not go to the polls during the last parliamentary elections.

In this narrow sense, Andhra Pradesh has no representation of its own in the present Cabinet after Mr. Anjiah's exit. But Karnataka has one Cabinet-rank Minister and two Ministers of State, even after Mr. Veerendra Patil's exit. There are now two Ministers of State from Tamil Nadu, along with two of the same rank from Kerala which has not had a Cabinet-rank Minister for a long time.

The overall strength of the Council of Ministers has now come down from 52 to 51 following the latest changes but the number of Cabinet-rank Ministers remains the same at 17—and that of the Ministers of State at 32, even after Mr. Chidambaram's promotion. There are now only two Deputy Ministers instead of three appointed during the last reshuffle.

The Prime Minister, who was present at the swearing-in ceremony this morning along with many of his Cabinet colleagues, described these marginal changes as "minor adjustment".

**Editorial: Party Needs Separate Powers**

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Jan 86 p 8

[Editorial: "Much of a Muchness"]

[Text]

Despite the high drama surrounding it, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's scheme to revamp and revitalise the Congress party does not amount to much. Indeed, in some ways, it might end up by achieving precisely the opposite of the desired result. After all, what does revitalisation in this context mean? That the once-mighty, if also flawed and fractious organisation, should be able to regain the kind of effectiveness it once had, especially during the Nehru era? If so, the first step should have been to invest the party organisation, from the top to the grassroots, with the necessary prestige and autonomy of which they have been so cruelly robbed over the years. But the plan that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has adumbrated hardly does that. Notwithstanding the rhetoric about the party's supremacy over the government, the party organisation at the highest level remains, to say the least, an appendage of the Prime Minister's official establishment.

There can be no other meaning of Mr. Arjun Singh's removal from the Union cabinet and his appointment as the party vice-president, a post which, incidentally, does not find a mention in the Congress constitution. The anomaly of a working president, in the person of Mr. Kamalapati Tripathi, intervening between Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, as Congress President, and Mr. Arjun Singh, need not detain us. For it may well turn out to be transitory. But the pertinent point is that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi evidently intends to remain both Prime Minister and Congress president indefinitely, or else he would not have opted for the novel device of a vice-president. This is not a reassuring sign from the party's point of view. The two offices of head of government and party chief were first combined in one person by Jawaharlal Nehru in the 'fifties but only temporarily and in extraordinary conditions, following the resignation of the then Congress president, Mr. Purushottam Das Tandon. Some time later, when advised to find himself a vice-president, he is reported to have reacted angrily and remarked that the Congress must have a president unencumbered by other responsibilities. Thus Mr. U.N. Dhebar became his successor as party chief and a succession of Congress presidents followed.

This healthy practice ought to be revived if Mr. Gandhi is really serious about restoring to the Congress organisation some at least of its lost lustre. But this has not happened. On the contrary, the practice followed by Indira Gandhi in different circumstances—and which reduced the party to position of a mere Praetorian guard, structured as an inverted pyramid—is being perpetuated for no good reason at all. What kind of authority and autonomy, then, the Congress vice-president is supposed to enjoy—leave alone transmitting these down the line? For, even in terms of Sunday's announcement, these would depend on the tasks assigned to him by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi from time to time, perhaps day to day!

Mr. Arjun Singh's choice as the party vice-president further complicates matters and raises several questions without answering any. Indeed, he seems to have become the mystery man of Congress politics. In short ten months, he has been shifted around no fewer than three times for reasons which remain unexplained and may, in fact, be inexplicable. He was sworn in as chief minister of Madhya Pradesh for a second term on March 11 last year; less than 72 hours later, he had been transferred to the Chandigarh Raj Bhavan as governor of troubled Punjab. Whatever may be thought of it in retrospect, the Punjab accord was considered a feather in his cap. It was, therefore, expected that he would soon be rewarded with some prestigious portfolio at the Centre as part of a long overdue reshuffle of the Union cabinet.

In the event, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi reshuffled his pack, just a day before the polling in Punjab and Mr. Arjun Singh remained where he was. Many thought this to be a good idea. For Mr. Singh could be depended upon to implement the accord he had principally negotiated. The logic of the argument required that he should have stayed on in Chandigarh at least until after January 26, so as to see the handing over to Punjab of Chandigarh, in exchange for Punjab's Hindi-speaking villages contiguous to Haryana going to that state, on the due date. But once again, whimsicality appears to have intervened. On November 15, he was made Union cabinet minister for commerce. The minimal attention that he has paid to this vital responsibility since then may be left out of the discussion. The short point is that two months and four days later, he has been hunked out of the cabinet. What kind of prestige does all this bestow on him as he takes over as the party's vice-president? And why could not the new slot in the party headquarters be filled by Mr. Shiv Shankar who has now been made commerce minister in Mr. Arjun Singh's place?

So much for Mr. Arjun Singh who may still have ideas about skill and capacity. But anyone expecting Mr. T. Anjiah, one of the new AICC general secretaries, or others of his ilk, to reinvigorate the Congress, in his own state or elsewhere, must be out of touch with reality. So incompetent was Mr. Anjiah as a short-lived chief minister of Andhra that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, long before becoming Prime Minister, found it necessary publicly to reprimand him. Ironically, this incident became an important factor for the Congress party's loss of Andhra to Mr. N. T. Rama Rao's Telugu Desam. Mr. Gandhi's scheme could not possibly have been evolved by anyone who knows something about it. The plan is clearly the handiwork of the Prime Minister's office. Therefore no one, except the backroom boys, need be surprised if it leaves the already demoralised and dismayed average Congressman cold.

Important though the foregoing factors are, the heart of the matter has yet to be faced. The issue is twofold: first, the Congress party can hardly come back to life if the Congress government at the centre itself functions lackadaisically and its most important instrument, the Union cabinet, has not regained its power and glory. Merely to state the circumstances in which the former Bihar chief minister, Mr. Chandra Shekhar Singh, has to go out of the Union council of ministers would stress the point. His return as minister of state in independent charge of petroleum thus becomes all the more intriguing.

Secondly and most importantly, while the impetus always comes from the top and every party draws sustenance from the grass-roots, it is at the level of the state, that a party either stands or falls. The days when a towering chief minister like Dr. B. C. Roy and a solid party chief such as Mr. Atulya Ghosh, despite their dissimilar personalities, could keep the Congress in power in West Bengal may have gone. But must the party, or whatever is left of it, complete the process of self-destruction by making both the chief ministers in Congress-run states and PCC chiefs in states ruled by non-Congress parties the non-entities that they have been and are. Some of them are clearly identifiable as subservient nominees of one "power broker" or another, with whom New Delhi seems infested.

Against this backdrop, Mr. Oscar Fernandes's appointment as the PCC chief in Karnataka, a state run by the most skilful non-Congress chief minister, is nothing short of a joke. The elevation of Mr. Ghani Khan Chaudhury will do no good to Mr. Priya Ranjan Das Munshi, burdened with the awesome task of keeping the West Bengal Congress in one piece. The hope that Mr. Chaudhury's promotion would win back estranged Muslim voters in Assam, and elsewhere, may also turn out to be a delusion. The Muslim voters may not be won back. But Assam's Hindus might be alienated even further.

/9274

CSO: 4600/1423



INDIA

#### NEW MINISTERS SWORN INTO UTTAR PRADESH CABINET

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 22 Jan 86 pp 1, 9

[Text] Lucknow, Jan. 21--The U.P. Council of Ministers was today expanded with the induction of 10 more Ministers of State into the four-month-old Bir Bahadur Singh Ministry. The new Ministers were sworn in at a simple function at Raj Bhavan here.

With today's expansion, the number of Ministers in the U.P. Government went up to 27. The number of Cabinet Ministers, however, remains unchanged at 10.

Observers describe the Ministry expansion as "belated and bewildering". It was belated because it came exactly 119 days after the swearing-in of 16 Ministers on September 25. And it was bewildering because Mr Bir Bahadur Singh did not or could not include even one new Cabinet Minister into his Ministry. There can be only two reasons for this: either he was not given the permission to do so by New Delhi, or he found himself under pressure from opposing factions.

It is significant that apart from Mr Rajiv Gandhi and Mr Arun Nehru, there are many more "big guns" of U.P. politics in New Delhi--Mr Kamalapati Tripathi, Mr Vishwanath Pratap Singh, Mr Narayan Dutt Tiwari, Mrs Rajendra Kamari Bajpai, Mrs Mohsina Kidwai and Mr Shripati Misra. It is not known if they all were consulted by the State Chief Minister before the expansion of his Ministry. There is a rumour in Laknow that apart from the Prime Minister and Mr Arun Nehru, none of the U.P. stalwarts in New Delhi appreciates Mr Bin Bahadur Singh's performance. Most of them, according to highly placed sources in the Congress (I) here, have stopped advising the State Chief Minister, Mr Bir Bahadur Singh's lone adviser, at the moment, it is Mr Arun Nehru.

Talking to reporters after the swearing-in ceremony today, Mr Bir Bahadur Singh said that he would further expand his Ministry after the budget session of the State Legislature. The Chief Minister would continue to hold as many as 66 Government departments under his direct charge at least till the next round of expansion of the Ministry.

The supporters of the Chief Minister, however, describe the expansion as a normal affair. They also drew satisfaction from the fact that Mr Bir Bahadur Singh has been made a member of the Congress (I) Working Committee by Mr Rajiv Gandhi. "The Chief Minister has, in fact, emerged stronger," they said.

INDIA

**CPI-M LEADER: PRESS TRIES TO PENETRATE MARXIST FORUMS**

**Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 22 Jan 86 p 16**

**[Text]**

TRIVANDRUM, Jan. 21.—Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad, the CPI (M) general secretary, today accused the Press of trying to penetrate the Marxist forums, which he described as a form of "class struggle".

Referring to newspaper reports about disciplinary action the State unit of the party proposed to take against Mr M. V. Raghavan and his "gang of nine", before it was actually announced, Mr Namboodiripad said, "some times you win, some times we outsmart you".

Addressing a Press conference here, Mr Namboodiripad ruled out the possibility of the merger of the CPI and the CPI (M). He denied the allegations of some of the CPI leaders that the Marxist rank and file was in favour of a merger and that he alone was opposed to it.

Reacting to the statement of the State CPI leader, Mr N. E. Balam, that the Marxists could not hope to come back to power in Kerala without the support of his party, Mr Namboodiripad said the CPI could not dream of winning a single Assembly seat with the aid of the Marxists.

Mr Namboodiripad made it clear that the decision of the CPI (M) to go in for joint action with the

CPI was not with a view to coming back to power but to serve the people.

Explaining the disciplinary action taken against Mr Raghavan, secretary of the CPI (M) Legislature party, and his "gang of nine", Mr Namboodiripad said that it was not to silence dissent but to put down groupism in the party.

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CSO: 4600/1424

INDIA

# CPI LEADER SAYS CPI-M FOLLOWS DELHI LINE

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 23 Jan 86 p 4

[Article by Kamaljeet Rattan]

[Text]

Kharagpur, Jan. 22: The Communist Party of India general secretary, Mr C. Rajeswara Rao, severely criticised "the CPI(M)'s open encouragement to the joint sector policy and multinational investments in West Bengal," which he said made amply clear that "it (the CPM) is toeing the Union government's policy."

Mr Rao, who was addressing the open rally of the party on the occasion of the five-day 6th state conference at the Giri grounds here this afternoon, asked: "How can the CPI(M) criticise the economic policies of the Rajiv Gandhi government if it on its own also adopt the same policy." Due to this indirect support of CPI(M) to the Congress(I), the Prime Minister had recently called the "CPI dogmatic

and the CPI(M) pragmatic."

This dangerous trend of encouraging growth of capitalism and multinationals has to be checked because the CPI(M) as well as the Union government must understand that "it is the imperialists ploy to use multinationals as a weapon to penetrate into developing countries and there by dictate the state of affairs," Mr Rao said. He called upon the Left Front government to mobilise people consciously against these dangers and not get pressurised by the agents of the imperialist forces.

The initiatives of the Rama Rao government in Andhra Pradesh and the Hegde government in Karnataka in inviting US and West German investments in their respective states must also be checked, he said. If such a trend continues, "we

might soon have examples like Latin America being called Banana Republic," he added.

Praising the Prime Minister, for his anti-imperialist stand as was seen in his foreign policy, Mr Rao stated: "We have no difference with Mr Gandhi's foreign policy and do hope that he would continue his efforts to ensure peace in the world which is under the continuous threat of a nuclear war." Mr Rao highly praised the recent initiatives of the Soviet president, Mr M. Gorbachyov, in reducing nuclear weapon accumulation.

**No merger with CPM:** The CPI general secretary, ruling out the possibility of any merger with the CPI(M) in the near future, admitted that both the parties were today holding similar views on many issues, which made them come closer.

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CSO: 4600/1426

INDIA

DIPLOMATS TOLD DELHI STAND ON CONTRADORA

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 25 Jan 86 p 5

[Text]

New Delhi, Jan. 24: India has welcomed the recent efforts of the countries comprising and supporting the Contradora group to solve the Nicaraguan crisis as reflected in the Carabelleda Declaration. This was conveyed by the minister of state for external affairs, Mr K.R. Narayanan, to the heads of diplomatic missions of the seven countries who handed over "the message of Carabelleda" to him this morning.

The foreign ministers of the seven countries—Columbia,

Mexico, Panama and Venezuela which comprise the Contradora group, and Argentina, Brazil and Peru which support it—adopted the message at Carabelleda, Venezuela, on January 11 and 12 this year. It calls for peace, security and democracy in Central America and is aimed at renewing the Contradora process. It has also called on the United States to resume direct talks with Nicaragua.

Nicaragua and the other Central American countries—Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica—have supported the declaration. However, the US

state department, while supporting the effort, has said it would not agree to bilateral talks with Nicaragua unless its earlier preconditions were met. These include lifting of emergency and having a Church-mediated dialogue with the Opposition in that country.

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CSO: 4600/1430

INDIA

GOVERNMENT AMENDS ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNALS ACT

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 25 Jan 86 p 13

[Text] New Delhi, 24 Jan--An Ordinance has been promulgated by the President amending Section 5 of the Administrative Tribunals Act, 1985. It provides for hearing of cases by the administrative tribunals' benches consisting of one judicial member and one administrative member.

The original law provided for Benches consisting of the chairman or vice-chairman and two other members. There was no requirement about the proportion of judicial or non-judicial members on the Bench.

The Ordinance lays down that all judicial members shall be appointed in consultation with the Chief Justice of India.

The Ordinance amends the provisions and specifically states that the tribunal set up under the Act does not take away the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court under Article 32 of the Constitution in service matters.

The Central Administrative Tribunal, which was established on November 11, 1985, to adjudicate complaints and disputes in regard to recruitment and service conditions of Central Government employees did not have jurisdiction over the employees of Central Government departments, who are governed by the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947.

The Ordinance amends the law to provide that the employees of Central Government departments which are treated as "industry" for the purposes of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, will also come under the purview of the Central Administrative Tribunal. The present rights of such Central Government employees under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, are, however, fully taken away.

The Ordinance apart from fulfilling an assurance given to the Supreme Court on the eve of the establishment of the Central Administrative Tribunal has other amendments to ensure that the tribunal set up under the Act are enabled to provide speedy justice to Government employees.

The Central Administrative Tribunal will have a total of 15 Benches all over the country by June 30.

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CSO: 4600/1429

INDIA

FRG FIRM HOPES FOR WEAPONS SALES TO INDIA

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 25 Jan 86 p 1

[Text]

BONN, January 24 (Reuter).

THE West German arms company, Rheinmetall, has said it was hoping to sell weapons to India as part of a three-nation European consortium in a deal worth at least four billion marks (\$1.6 billion).

A company spokesman in Dusseldorf told Reuters yesterday that Rheinmetall was seeking West German government approval to submit a bid.

He gave no other details but a report in the "Stuttgarter Zeitung" said the proposed bid would involve the sale of an artillery system using "155-1" NATO Howitzers produced by Rheinmetall, Vickers of Britain and O.T.O. Melara of Italy.

The newspaper report said sales of associated equipment such as electronic firing systems could swell the total value of the deal to \$2.4 billion. It said Rheinmetall and other West German partners in the consortium had a combined share of 40 per cent.

The foreign ministry confirmed

Rheinmetall had lodged a preliminary request for approval but said no decision had been taken. Government sources, however, said tensions between India and Pakistan were likely to complicate a decision under West Germany's strict arms export policy.

The policy bans sales of military hardware to non-NATO states unless vital West German interests warrant exceptional approval.

It said the group, which was being led by Vickers, faced stiff competition for the contract from arms manufacturers in Sweden, France and Austria.

Rheinmetall is already seeking government approval with other West German firms to bid for the sale to Saudi Arabia of a munitions factory in a deal worth up to \$3.2 billion.

The government sources said they expected the Saudi bid to win approval but described arms exports to India as problematic, because of the tension with Pakistan.

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CSO: 4600/1428

INDIA

## LEFTIST TRADE UNIONS SCORE GOVERNMENT POLICIES

### Economic Policy Flayed

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 23 Jan 86 p 6

[Text]

A day after their discussions with the Finance Minister on the coming budget, the Left trade unions came out with a statement on Wednesday flaying the Government's economic policies on various counts.

Giving an elaborate resume of the discussions, the CITU has said most trade unions, of the right and the left, attacked last year's budget and various official steps taken thereafter, little of which has been reported in the Press.

The Left trade unions, namely CITU and AITUC, attacked the Government for giving into World Bank pressures and other "imperialist" agencies. This was manifest in the following policies.

- \* The new computer policy introduced in November 1984;
- \* The Union Budget of 1985-86;
- \* Export-Import policy;
- \* The new textile policy;
- \* The long-term fiscal policy;
- \* The proposed new education policy with its alleged elitist bias.

The combination of these policies has had an adverse effect on the country's quest for self reliance which, according to CITU leader Narsingha Chakravarty, has been given an "unannounced burial". The raised limit of MRFP companies, liberalised imports, larger freedom to FERA and MRTP companies to operate in various sectors, flow of foreign capital through increased collaborations were all manifestations of how self-reliance was being given a go-by.

The picture on the economic front, they argued, has become even more dismal with the huge gap in the balance of payments position in the first five months of the current financial year. If the trend continued, the country would soon be facing the debt-trap like many other developing countries.

Describing the very approach to economic ailments as wrong, the trade unions said this warped perspective was evident in the Seventh Plan. They said the strategy for resource mobilisation was erroneous as the public sector units cannot generate Rs 35,000 crore as demanded by the planners unless they take recourse to drastic retrenchment of workers or heavy doses of administered price hikes on their products. In both cases, the common man would be the sufferer.

The Plan has, moreover, not taken into account the need for larger disbursements on account of hikes in DA rates and possible expenditure arising from the Fourth Pay Commission's recommendations. Nor have provisions been made for a possible wage rise as a result of negotiations between unions and managements that are to take place this year.

The talk of workers' participation in management was hollow, the Left unions said. While such participation was crucial for raising industrial output, workers are still being kept on the periphery and there is not a single instance where their representatives have been included in a decision-making body.

The CITU has enumerated many other instances where the Government has indulged in mere tokenism in the name of consulting workers. All in all, the Government's approach betrayed their bias in favour of the rich classes and its apathy towards the common man, leave alone the poor.

Other unions too — INTUC, BMS, HMS, NLO and UTUC — were critical of the Government's computerisation programme as they feared that it would eventually lead to mass retrenchments. The INTUC asked for a tax holiday to all those who earned between Rs 1,000 to Rs 5,000 per month.

In turn, Finance Minister V P Singh said there was a difference in perception between him and the unions. If giving a tax concession of Rs 200 crore to the corporate sector led to a revenue collection of Rs 500 crore then the step was justified.

Mr Chakravarty contested Mr Singh's figures and claimed that a concession to the tune of Rs 1,000 crore has been given to the private sector. He said he would supply the correct data to Mr Singh later.

Reacting to the vehement opposition to computerisation, Mr Singh said while computers were essentially a job-saving device, if they led to greater growth then more jobs would be created. The long-term benefits should be borne in mind. He also assured a dialogue on the public sector units with the unions.

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 25 Jan 86 p 5

## [Text]

The trade union wing of the CPI-M, CITU, has joined issues with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi over his description of the Indian trade union movement during his address at the Congress centenary celebrations at Bombay and called it a "mischievous" effort to pit the organised sector against the unorganised sector.

Mr Gandhi had said: "They (trade unions) protect the few who are oblivious of the millions of have-nots. Power without responsibility, rights without duties have come to be their prerogative". The CITU secretariat met recently to discuss the implications of this remark and decided to issue a lengthy statement on Friday titled, "The shoe is on the Wrong foot".

The main purpose of Mr Gandhi's remark, the CITU said, was to pit one section of the workers against another in order to divide them while appearing to champion the downtrodden. Then it has proceeded to give many illustrations to show how it is the Congress Government which is primarily responsible to keep the unorganised sector in the dark vault of backwardness where it is today.

If the organised sector has been able to better their lot, it is primarily because of their hard struggle. In the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Plan periods the Government tried hard to implement a policy of wage freeze and utilised the Bureau of Public Enterprises to stall the paltry wage increases.

But the unions by organising workers under the banner of National Convention Against Wage Freeze were able to defend their real wages to a certain extent.

It is not that the trade unions have been impervious to the plight of the unorganised sector, who work in mines, quarries and cities while fighting for the rights of the other workers, the CITU has said. While it is true that they have not done all they could for this section, whatever little they and their political allies tried to do was repeatedly scuttled by the Central Government.

The implementation of land reforms was one key way of improving the lot of landless labourers. But no State Government, barring the Left Governments of Kerala and West Bengal, has seriously addressed the problem. In fact, a task force of the Planning Commission was constrained to point out in 1969 that land reforms were not being carried out because of lack of political will. This showed where the Congress Government stood vis-a-vis the unorganised sector.

In 1980 the representatives of trade unions and kisan sabhas drafted a bill to protect the basic rights of agricultural workers which was introduced in Rajya Sabha by CPI-M member H S Surjeet. But the Government rejected it and the Labour Minister explained that it was being rejected because of strong opposition from the States.

The only legislation that the Government has enacted, the CITU has added, is the Minimum

Wages Act in 1948. "It is a wonderful Act — there is no criterion in it for fixing minimum wages". Subsequently, the Government has dithered repeatedly whenever the question of minimum wages has been raised. Eventually, an advisory board was constituted to go into the question but has so far reached no decision.

While the Centre has dilly-dallied over the question of protecting basic rights of the unorganised sector, the Congress-ruled States have remained a passive onlooker to scores of indignities and violence perpetrated on them by the ruling classes. The story of rape, murder and pillage of the downtrodden in Bihar was testimony to this.

Faced by such severe persecution in the villages when these labourers move to cities like Delhi, no protection is given to them. The case of bonded labourers in the Asiad construction sites, an issue that has been debated in the Parliament, was proof of the Centre's apathy.

These migratory labourers, who come in as contract labour, were largely unprotected and when a bill was introduced in Parliament by CPI-M member Samar Mukherjee to amend the Contract Labour Act, the Government rejected it again.

These facts speak for themselves who is to blame for the pitiable plight of the unorganised sector. The trade unions have not done enough for them. But the CITU has pledged to "overcome this deficiency".

/9274

CSO: 4600/1431



1 April 1986

INDIA

## MINISTER SAYS COUNTRY POISED FOR RECORD HARVEST

Madras THE HINDU in English 24 Jan 86 p 1

[Text]

MADRAS, Jan. 23.

With a good kharif crop harvested and the rabi season showing promise, the country is poised for a new record in foodgrain production this year, according to Mr. Buta Singh, Union Minister for Agriculture.

"Despite prolonged droughts in several States we have a very good crop, and this year we are sure to exceed the previous best production of 151.5 million tonnes of foodgrains in 1983-84. In fact, we anticipate that production will be more than 153 million tonnes", the Minister said in an interview to THE HINDU today.

**Backward pockets do well:** "The interesting feature of the achievement is that the backward rice pockets in eastern India such as Bihar, West Bengal, eastern U.P. and some north-eastern States have done well in rice production," he said. The wheat crop is also heading for an all time high harvest, and this is discernible in the good progress of operations in the north, according to him.

"Last year we fell short of the targeted 153 million tonnes by two to three million tonnes. The deficit will be wiped out now. We have improved our technology and crop varieties to stand the vagaries of nature," Mr. Buta Singh said.

**Oilseed programme:** "Top priority is being given to oilseeds, pulses and dryland farming in view of the prolonged drought nagging agricultural production since 1981. For oilseed development, we are launching a special programme "Oilseed Mission of India", and this national project costing Rs. 1,500 crores will help reduce within a short time our dependence on edible oil imports," said Mr. Buta Singh.

Special preference will be given to indigenous oilseeds, and mustard, rapeseed, toria and cotton seed will be used for manufacture of vanaspathi.

"We have asked Punjab, Haryana and Mahara-

shtra to utilise some of their fertile, irrigated lands to raise oilseeds, and in 1987 we will be getting two million tonnes from Punjab alone. The State has been enthusiastic in taking up crops like mustard, rapeseed and groundnut,"

"Pulse crops is another area of major thrust for which water management is receiving top priority. For dryland farming, we distribute large-scale minikits of drought resistant seeds and small quantities of fertilizers. The technologies will be popularised through Krishi Vigyan Kendras all over the country," he said.

"Our aim is to establish at least one such kendra for each district," he said. Finance, however, is the major constraint and steps are being taken to secure more funds. Fertilizer units have also been requested to assist this cause, according to him.

**Cotton grows by leaps and bounds:** Talking about cotton production, Mr. Buta Singh said a quantum jump had been achieved in cotton output. "Our target of production by the end of Seventh Plan was 95 lakh bales, but we have already crossed 102 lakh bales of cotton. Cotton production in Punjab increased dramatically, by about 12 lakh bales. This year saw record production of about 19 lakh bales, he said.

For sugarcane, a national programme has been worked out, and with the special drive to boost sugar production, imports will be reduced to the minimum. Mr. Buta Singh was very critical of existing post-harvest technologies, grading, storage and transportation facilities. He said due attention would be paid to toning them up.

"Seven to 10 million tonnes of foodgrains lie in open yards for want of storage in Punjab and Haryana. We tried to popularise small-scale storage bins through the Department of Rural Development at subsidised costs, but the States did not show keen interest in this programme," Mr. Buta Singh said.

/9274

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IRAN

BAZARGAN PLAN TO END 'ENDLESS WAR'

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 3 Feb 86 pp 8-10

[Article by Dr 'Ali Nurizadeh: "Bazargan Plan To End the War"]

[Text] Medhi Bazargan was the first prime minister of Iran after the betrayed "revolution." In spite of the fact that the leaders of the Iranian opposition, whichever faction they belong to, accuse Bazargan of having participated in a power play, he has become, by virtue of his position as leader of the Iran Liberation Movement, both before and after he was prevented from taking part in the presidential elections in Tehran, the axis around which the exposed leaders of the domestic opposition have gathered. Hence comes the importance of the plan to end the Iraq-Iran war that Bazargan passed to AL-DUSTER. We present its salient points for review.

Although Ayatollah Khomeyni is prepared to execute his son Ahmad with his own hands, if we were found to represent a danger to his rule, he has until now not moved to liquidate Engineer Mehdi Bazargan, the first prime minister since his coming to power, even though Bazargan now represents the real danger to the ayatollah and his regime in Iran.

Do the ayatollah's personal feelings toward Bazargan, who was the detonator of the revolution and one of its founding leaders, prevent him from suggesting to his security apparatus that they end the existence of the man named Bazargan? Or are there perhaps things in the local or international background that have led until now to Bazargan's not having been exposed to death?

As for the first question, the answer to it does not require subtle speculation. The Iranian leader has demonstrated that he irrevocably divorced his emotions on 11 February 1979, when he became confident that Mistress Power had become his wife.

Otherwise, how could he have ordered the execution of Sadiq Qotbzadah, who struggled 20 years on behalf of an unknown clergyman who lived in a humble house in the venerable city of al-Najaf? Because of this struggle, Qotbzadah was able to present Khomeyni to the world as a revolutionary struggling for social justice, freedom, and equality. It is hard to overlook how Qotbzadah used to manage Ayatollah Khomeyni's affairs in Paris, so that the latter issued no communique without his permission and made no speech without asking his advice.

If Khomeyni's feelings toward Qotbzadah did not prevent him from killing him, it is logical that these feelings should not be an obstacle to the liquidation of Bazargan.

As for the second question, we have to say that Ayatollah Khomeyni himself does not respect international laws and that things in the local or international background do not interest him. Someone who issues an Islamic legal opinion authorizing the killing of his opponents abroad, notwithstanding the very serious problems thereby created for his government in the world, would not be concerned even if Bazargan enjoyed the support of half the globe.

What is the reason for the ayatollah's patience toward Bazargan? Why has he been tolerating for 6 years the criticisms and attacks directed against him by Bazargan and his movement, the Iran Liberation Movement?

The leftist opposition groups, which see a kind of competition in the existence of Bazargan and his nationalist movement, comment on this phenomenon by saying that Bazargan "has never withdrawn his allegiance to Khomeyni, who, for his part, turns Bazargan's criticism and opposition to the government to advantage in order to present a specious democratic image of his regime to the world."

Nationalists, however, especially those living inside Iran, believe that because of his independence and lack of connection with foreigners, and because of his nationalistic past full of sacrifices, Bazargan has been able to build a base of popular support for himself among Iranians.

Six months after the "revolution," Khomeyni accused Bazargan of working for the CIA. In his resignation announcement, Bazargan replied, "If I made contact with America, it was by your order. If I went to Algeria to meet President Carter's national security advisor, Brzezinski, you, O Imam, knew about the visit."

The ayatollah remained silent. Days passed. Bazargan appeared in the Majlis as representative of Tehran. When Bazargan strongly opposed the Algiers agreement between the government of Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i and America for the release of the hostages, describing it as "an agreement of betrayal and shame," Ayatollah Khomeyni tried to silence him. Bazargan, however, did not stop talking, in spite of the fact that Ayatollah Khomeyni forbade him to enter the Majlis again, and he tried to turn to the people to expose the betrayals of the men in power. In the presidential elections of last July, when Ayatollah Khomeyni realized that the people would vote for Bazargan, he ordered his name erased from the list of candidates and ordered the Revolutionary Guards to attack and wreck Bazargan's office. Bazargan was wounded in the attack, as were a number of other nationalist figures, such as Engineer Mo'in-Far, the Iranian oil minister in Bazargan's government, and Dr Yadollah Sahabi, one of Mosaddeq's ministers and deputy prime minister after the revolution. The ayatollah tried all the means of repression

against Bazargan, but did not succeed in silencing him. Indeed, Bazargan's popularity reached such a level that the holy man and scholar [Khomeyni] was not able to kill, exile, or even imprison him.

Among the most important characteristics distinguishing Bazargan from many of the leaders of the Iranian opposition are his courage and frankness. Perhaps it was this that made him, like Hercules in Greek mythology, or like Alexander in Iranian legend, immune to harm from the sword of the imam or the bullets of the Revolutionary Guards!

With this background, it was a surprise to no one when, 2 weeks ago, the Iran Liberation Movement headed by Eng Mehdi Bazargan distributed a special report containing the movement's ideas about the Iran-Iraq war.

In reality, this report was not very different from what Bazargan had previously published about his opposition to the ruler's despotism, except on one issue: Bazargan and his movement attacked Ayatollah Khomeyni as primarily responsible for the continuance of the war with Iraq.

In this issue, AL-DUSTUR, which has in the past exclusively published Bazargan's letters and reports, publishes a report which, it is said in Iran, moved Ayatollah Khomeyni to such uncontrollable rage when he read it that he cursed Bazargan in the presence of a number of officials of his regime.

What follows is a review of the Bazargan plan for ending the war.

#### Beginning of the Report

The report begins with a verse from the Surah of the Table: "Help one another to piety and godfearing; do not help each other to sin and enmity." [Koran 5:2]

He says: "After 5 years of war, and 3 years after the recovery of Khorramshahr, in spite of the warnings addressed to those in power in Iran and the many activities and plans for ending the war, all disregarded, the furnace of war continues to burn, and losses on both sides of the conflict continue to increase.

"The lot that falls to Iran and Iraq from this war is death and destruction; the lot that falls to the great powers in East and West is a flow of dollars that we expend on weapons or on food that we could have produced domestically, but that we now import from abroad.

"Because of this war, the lot that falls to us is death and destruction; their lot is financial gain.

"Unfortunately, the interest of the beneficiaries from this vicious war in a continuance of the conflict has become so great that no one dares to oppose the continuance of the war; for in the vocabulary of those who benefit from the war, anyone who strives to end it becomes a traitor, and talk of peace has become one of the great sins that cannot be forgiven.

"They say that the war was forced upon us and that America is the one who wants it, but at the same time they do nothing to reduce its violence and do not welcome any idea or plan for peace that aims at putting an end to it. Furthermore, they set forth unreasonable conditions and utter slogans from which one can infer their resolve that the war shall last forever, until the complete destruction of everything.

"They criticize us and say, 'Why do you write words pleasing to President Saddam Husayn?' They do not ask what God wants or what the Iranian people demand. Hostility to President Saddam [Husayn] has become their goal. They do not recognize the interests and happiness of the Iranian people, neither do God's will and commandments interest them.

"However, in obedience to the commandments of God and in hope of His support, and in accordance with our patriotic and religious duties, we have decided to disregard the dangers and have issued this report on the war. It contains our plan for ending it. We pray to the Almighty Lord that this report may become a confirmation of his noble verse, "And warn, for warning profits the believers.'" [Koran 51:55]

#### Necessity for Ending the War

On the third page of the Iran Liberation Movement's report, after a thorough analysis of the causes of the outbreak and development of the war, we read the following paragraphs: "The Iran Liberation Movement has been the only political movement to present a complete and comprehensive analysis of the war. Despite the dangers facing the members of this movement in the Islamic Advisory Council, they have done their duty as is required of a Muslim people. Before it was seized by the authorities, we wrote a number of articles in our newspaper, AL-MIZAN, about the necessity for ending the war. Also, we sent a number of letters to the leader of the revolution, but all these moves and activities produced nothing. In return, the authorities made a series of accusations. Indeed, the leader of the revolution once said, "Isn't it impossible for Mr Khamene'i to put his signature on the [same] peace agreement that President Saddam Husayn signs?"

"In reply to this statement a prominent clergyman turned to the leader of the revolution at a session of the Islamic Advisory Council and asked, 'Is Khamene'i better than the Imam Hasan ibn 'Ali, and is the president of Iraq worse than Mu'awiyah?'"

#### Their 'Defensive' War

"Some time after the publication of our statement about the necessity for ending the war, and after they found that our statement was based on Koranic verses and prophetic traditions, they hastened to change their language and slogans. This time they asserted that the Islamic Republic's action in continuing the war with Iraq was a defensive action, and in their directives they based their case on a number of books and versions [of traditions] to prove that their war was 'defensive,' and not 'aggressive.'

"They said that wars, according to scholars of the Imami [Shi'ite] legal school, may be divided into three categories, each of which may be considered Holy War.

"Before the publication of our articles and reports on the war as a crime against Islam, Shi'ism, and Iran, the rulers in Iran were saying, 'We must export the revolution to Iraq. We must send our armies to Iraq to cleanse it of the godlessness of the Ba'th [Party], so that we may establish an Islamic republic there. We shall then make Baghdad a take-off point for our revolution into the countries of the region, and from there into the heart of Europe and America.' Or, as their slogans used to say: 'Forward to the conquest of Karbala!' and 'War, war, until sedition [against Islam] is banished from the world!'"

### Aggressive Slogans

"All of these slogans were aggressive ones; not even one slogan or goal among them could safely be said to represent a defensive goal.

"However, when they discovered the weakness of their logic compared to ours, they said that their war was a Holy War to root out sedition [against Islam] and a defensive war to protect the values and fundamentals of the [Islamic] religion. Yet, according to the explicit text of the Koran, the basis of Holy War is defense of home, territory, and the country where Muslims live, not the export of revolution or the compelling of others to accept another regime, even if the [original] regime was not Islamic. The word of God on this subject needs no commentary. God says in His clear Book [the Koran]: 'And fight in the way of God with those who fight with you, but aggress not.' [Koran 2:190] As for their claim that their war with Iraq is a Holy War to banish sedition, there is no relation between it and the fundamentals of the religion. The slogan, 'War against the enemy until his complete destruction, and continual attack on hostile targets until the Day of Resurrection!' is nothing but a Marxist slogan, one that Marxists would utter. This slogan is only found in materialistic books, and is believed in only by holders of the dialectical theory, who believe (according to the principles of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis between the two) that war and confrontation with 'imperialism' must continue whatever the circumstances and that some day this battle is bound to reach a conclusion."

In the subsequent pages of its report, the Iran Liberation Movement bases its position on a series of unambiguous Koranic verses that command Muslims that it is necessary to stop conflict between "two parties of Muslims" [Koran 49:9] if war breaks out between them. Bazargan's movement rejects the argument of the officials of the regime: that Ayatollah Khomeyni, as deputy to the imam of the age, is empowered to make choices in all matters in Iran, and that he is ruler, authority on religious law, and shepherd of the people. The movement rejects Khomeyni's claim that the war must continue until the liberation of Iraq and that no one has the power to oppose this decision.

In its report, the Iran Liberation Movement says, "Even our noble messenger [Muhammad] and sinless imams said more than once that they were only mortals and capable of error. How then can one man make a decision in the name of 40 million Iranians without this people having the right to question him or call his attention to his errors?"

#### Our Loss of Independence

On another page of the report, the Iran Liberation Movement describes the war as follows: "This vicious war will produce only the destruction of Iran and the ruin of Islam and Shi'ism." It adds, "Because of this war, our country has lost its independence, and we have become bound to the foreigner. Also, this war has distorted our image in the world; we have become a group of terrorists who enjoy killing, destruction, and devastation.

"After [the recovery of] Khorramshahr, we could have ended the war in a way pleasing to God and to the Iranian people; but those who want the war as cover for their actions found in its continuance a means to preserve their power, and so they allowed the opportunity to be lost."

At the end of the report, the Iran Liberation Movement explains its ideas about how to stop the war and presents a patriotic plan based on respect by each of the two countries in the conflict for the sovereignty and independence of the other, determination of the extent of war losses by international bodies, and the payment of reparations on the basis of calculations by United Nations statisticians.

The Iran Liberation Movement plan contains the following articles:

- Withdrawal of the forces of the two countries to their prewar borders, and proclamation of a cease-fire;
- Establishment of a body of United Nations forces in a demilitarized zone on the Iraq-Iran borders for a period to be set by the United Nations;
- Release of prisoners held by both sides.

The Iran Liberation Movement concludes its report with the following Koranic verse: "Help one another to piety and godfearing; do not help each other to sin and enmity." [Koran 5:2]

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IRAN

# FREED PRISONER RECOUNTS EXPERIENCE

Paris L'UNITE in French 22 Nov 85 p 13

[Interview with Mojgan Homayounfar by Carlos Ferrari-Lopez; date and place not given.]

[Text] Mojgan Homayounfar is 24 years old. Her round face, framed in a colorful scarf, does not smile. Her large black eyes have an unusually intense look. Pain: It is apparent in the tightening of her mouth at the sound of a word--prison, Khomeyni, torture, fellow prisoners. Her gaze becomes heavy, impenetrable. At times, for a brief moment, a sparkle lights up her face--the resistance, the women she met in jail cells where terror reigns. A sparkle and then her face darkens again. Mojgan hardly stirs. Only her arms, her hands move with the conversation, confirming a statement, supporting an idea. She studied fine arts in Tehran and had begun working as a school teacher. Without being politically active in a militant way, she was a Mojahedin sympathizer. One evening in July 1981, she was kidnapped by Khomeyni's militia. The pasdarans beat her severely, wounded her and left her for dead. She is talking about it now, Mojgan wants to speak for "the thousands of prisoners who remain in my country's prisons, for the women who, in spite of all the torture, the humiliation, keep up the resistance." She is talking so that we will know what barbarity is experienced in the jails of the tyrant of Tehran.

They made me get into a car. We came to a stop soon after that and they began beating me. They burned my hands with cigarettes. They slashed my body with their knives. One of them had an axe and with one blow, he severed my left foot. I fainted but the pain kept me from losing all consciousness. When they thought I was dead, they got back into the car. Before driving away, the pasdarans wanted to run over me. I managed to move and the car ran over my right foot. I was also hurt in the pelvis. They probably had orders to kill me. At that time, mutilated bodies were turning up everyday in the streets of several cities. I was alive! The doctor who treated me told me then that I was the only one known to have survived an attack by the pasdarans.

[Question] When they attacked you, did they ask you any questions?

[Answer] No, no questions. Only insults and blows with their knives and the axe.



[Question] You were taken to a hospital?

[Answer] Yes, some passers-by found me and took me to a hospital. The pasdarans learned of this and surrounded the building. They kidnapped me again, taking me this time to the Evine prison in Tehran. My wounded leg hurt very much. I had lost my foot. But the nightmare was only beginning. In a section they call "the infirmary," they tortured me again. I spent 5 months in this section, without medical care, not even an artificial foot. To move, I had to crawl on the ground. Then I was taken to Section 611--2 by 3-meter cells packed with tens of prisoners. In my cell there were 10 of us. We had little food, bad food. Sometimes bread and cheese and, less often, meat. Several times we had to eat leaves from trees.

[Question] Were you put on trial?

[Answer] I don't know what you would call it. One day in May 1982, I was brought before a "tribunal" and for 5 minutes, I listened to insults and shouts. I later learned I had been sentenced to 15 years imprisonment. Outside the prison, it was known that I was in the hands of the pasdarans. They could no longer kill me. So they arranged this mockery of a trial.

[Question] Tell us about daily life at Evine.

[Answer] I was always sick. My wounds were not healing and complications set in. respiratory and heart problems. . . . The prison officials thought that I was going to die and that is why they let me leave. Daily life was daily hell. Executions were carried out at the prison. Every day. From the window in our cell, we could see the place where they took the corpses of the torture victims. In one night, we counted 200 executions. Once I was able to see trucks carrying tens of bodies, some of them still moving. They were finished off by bayonette. During the interrogations--the torture, that is--we were blindfolded. Night and day. That could last 4, 5 or 6 months. Some prisoners were shut away in small cages for several weeks. They remained in a crouched position, unable to move . . . . (She then showed me a drawing she had made of boxes of sorts, 1 meter by 1.5 meters, in which the prisoner is sitting, his head between his knees, his hands tied behind his back). Once released, they couldn't walk normally. Others were shut away in a sort of coffin built into the very wall of the prison. They would lie with their arms at their sides, without moving for 3 or 4 months. Sometimes longer.

[Question] Were women treated this way?

[Answer] Of course! We were tortured just as savagely as the men. Khomeyni's regime looks on women with fierce hatred. For him and his henchmen, women are objects, instruments. So, women who take action, who participate in the resistance, who take on responsibilities in the struggle, enrage them. Khomeyni does not tolerate that. You know, pregnant women have been executed. I have also seen women who had just given birth be taken straight to the firing squad. There are children who have been at the Evine prison for 3 years. Elderly women, 60 years old and older, were assassinated while I was at Evine.

They try everything to break us physically, psychologically. But the women resist. We would organize. We would try to have some kind of resistance activity, however small, so as not to give in to the terror. The pasdarans who watched us were outraged. We were punished, tortured even more, but in my friends' eyes I could see their unshakable will to resist. There is an incident I would like to tell you about. One day, a friend had just given birth and was left with her child in a crowded cell. The child was naked, so each one of us tore a piece of cloth from our clothes. Taking the small bones of the chicken we had just eaten, we made needles to sew the pieces together and that is how mad made him his first baby clothes.

[Question] What is the child's name?

[Answer] Nabi.

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IRAN

#### USSR NURTURING IMPROVED RELATIONS

Paris LE MONDE in French 18 Dec 85 p 1

[Text] The visit to Moscow that the Iraqi president, Saddam Husayn, began on Monday 16 December illustrates the ambiguity of Soviet positions with regard to the endless Gulf war. In principle, the USSR displays strict neutrality, refusing to "choose" between Iran and Iraq. This was reaffirmed by Andrei Gromyko Monday evening at a dinner held at the Kremlin in honor of Saddam Husayn for whom this is the first visit to Moscow in 7 years and the first stay abroad in 3 years. The conversations were described by TASS as "frank, realistic and friendly," a phrase that bears witness to a good dose of disagreements between the two parties. There is nothing really surprising about this, since in the name of this "neutrality" which should demonstrate a refusal to intervene in any way, the Kremlin in fact provides very solid military support to Iraq but, it seems, it has also been developing a closer form of military cooperation with Iran recently.

When the Iraqis touched off the war in September 1980, the USSR condemned Bagdad. It suspended arms shipments to Iraq, although it had been that country's main supplier and had signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation with it in 1972. The situation would change in 1983. A fear that the "Islamic revolution" which had never left Moscow feeling truly secure would spread to the Muslim republics? A desire not to alienate Iraq permanently? The fact remains that Soviet arms shipments to Bagdad resumed and have never stopped since.

Nonetheless, the USSR's two main allies in the Near East, Syria and Libya, have chose to support Iran fully in the Gulf war. It is through them--it is suggested in Bagdad--that large quantities of Soviet armaments are reaching the Iranian army, cut off from its former suppliers in the West. Direct military cooperation between the USSR and Iran is even said to have begun taking shape in the past few months, at least according to the specialized weekly, JANE'S. As though the Kremlin would like to humor Iran whose strategic importance is, to the USSR, as important as Iraq's, if not more so. For Saddam Husayn, all are points of dissatisfaction which must have figured prominently in discussions between the two countries' ministers of defense, General Abdel Jabbar Chanchal and Marshal Sergey Sokolov, and ministers of foreign affairs, Messrs Tariq Aziz and Edward Shevardnaze.

This surprise visit--it was not announced until after President Saddam Husayn's departure from Bagdad--was perhaps prompted by reports that Iranian troops were being reinforced at the border and that a new offensive was imminent. Iraq would thus be counting on the USSR to put pressure on Iran. Like the U.S., the USSR does not want victory for either side, because for nearly 6 years, this bloody confrontation has had two main characteristics. Iran's excessive demand that it obtain the downfall and "punishment" of Saddam Husayn is blocking a negotiated settlement. In addition, the nature and the theater of the confrontation in one of the most sensitive regions of the world do not inspire either of the two superpowers to decide in favor of one of the other adversary, as any "slippage" could have incalculable consequences.

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IRAN

DEALS WITH AUSTRIA, BULGARIA, PAKISTAN, DPRK REPORTED

London MEED/THE MIDDLE EAST BUSINESS WEEKLY in English 15 Feb 86 pp 15-16

[Text]

**Austria close to new barter deal**

Austria's *Interhandel* is close to signing a new barter deal worth up to \$600 million. Officials from Interhandel — the trading subsidiary of loss-making state-owned company *Voest-Alpine* — are to visit Tehran in the third week in February to discuss the deal. It is expected to be finalised in March.

Interhandel's \$1,900 million 1985 barter deal with Iran is known to have contributed towards Voest-Alpine's financial troubles. The group is estimated to have notched up losses of \$325 million in 1985. Interhandel was responsible for about \$130 million, some of which was attributed to the barter deal.

The problems with the 1985 barter contract were twofold. First, at a time of falling world oil prices, Interhandel was obliged to buy the oil at prices fixed by the *National Iranian Oil Company*. Second, it proved difficult to cope with the sheer scale of the deal. It is due to expire by the end of February, but is still about \$200 million short of the figure agreed. The Interhandel team wants to extend the expiry date when it visits Tehran.

Interhandel hopes to conclude more manageable terms for the 1986/87 deal. It is expected to be arranged in five or six packages of \$100 million. Each package will be much more flexible, with the oil price calculated using the "net-back technique or other similar formulae," company officials say.

Interhandel says that according to the new deal, when \$50 million worth of Iranian oil has been lifted, 75 per cent of the money will be paid into an escrow account in a Vienna bank. This will be used to fund exports to Iran. The remaining 25 per cent will be paid in the form of a straight cash payment to the Iranians.

Voest-Alpine's relationship with Iran has been damaged not only by losses on the barter deal, but also by an allegation in late January in *Basta*, an Austrian monthly magazine. The magazine alleged that the company had sold artillery to Iran, thereby breaking Austria's neutrality laws. Voest-Alpine strenuously denies the claim.

**Overseas reserves rise**

Reserves held in western banks have recovered steadily since March 1985. This is despite the decline in oil revenues resulting from Iraqi air attacks on the Kharg island oil export terminal.

Deposits with western banks climbed to \$6,943 million in September, from a low of \$5,634 million in March, according to the latest report from the Basle-based Bank for International Settlements (BIS). The figures are still below the December 1983 peak of \$9,219 million, and much lower than pre-revolutionary levels.

The recovery in reserves shows that the economy is in better shape than has often been assumed after five years of war, say

bankers. By comparison, Iraqi deposits have fluctuated around the \$ 1,000 million mark since 1983, according to BIS.

The \$ 1,000 million jump in deposits held by western banks in third-quarter 1985 appears to confirm the government's claims that the Iraqi raids have little effect. In early November, Bank Markazi (central bank) governor Mohsen Nourbakhsh told MEED that \$ 800 million had been added to the reserves since March.

Bankers calculate that \$ 2,000 million-3,000 million of the deposits with western banks are held in escrow accounts. The largest — in The Hague — has funds of nearly \$ 1,000 million, and is used to settle claims made by US companies (MEED 1:2:86). Second-largest is the \$ 600 million balance of a \$ 1,417 million fund deposited with the Bank of England (central bank) for settling non-syndicated loan claims by US banks.

Several smaller escrow accounts are devoted to barter trade. *Voest-Alpine's* \$ 1,900 million barter deal with Iran means that at any one time Iran has \$ 20 million-35 million in an escrow account in Vienna (see above). Iran's other barter deals work on a similar principle.

A further \$ 1,000 million held in Paris has been frozen by the French government since November 1979, and was the subject of negotiations in Tehran in early January (MEED 11:1:86).

The real level of Iranian liquid assets held by western banks is in the range of \$ 4,000 million. Iran is presumed to have further foreign exchange reserves in other foreign banks, and in Iran itself.

### US exports drop

US exports to Iran fell by 50 per cent in 1985, compared with the previous year, but imports are holding steady, according to the US Commerce Department. Two-way trade in the first 11 months of 1985 came to \$ 775 million, down from \$ 850 million in the corresponding period of 1984.

The US imported \$ 702.3 million worth of Iranian goods in January-November

1985; exports were valued at just \$ 72.5 million. The corresponding figures for 1984 are \$ 700.3 million and \$ 149.5 million.

US exports mainly comprise medical and pharmaceutical products, food and basic machinery. Oil makes up the bulk, of Iranian supplies, but there are substantial quantities of non-oil goods. In the first 11 months of 1985, the US bought \$ 29 million worth of pistachios, \$ 26 million worth of carpets and \$ 5 million worth of jewellery.

US pistachio producers are protesting against the influx of cheap Iranian supplies, and the Commerce Department is considering imposing a 58 per cent countervailing duty (MEED 23:11:85).

### New deals signed with Bulgaria

Several contracts have been signed with Bulgaria to modernise and expand Iranian factories, and to increase trade. Further talks are to be held soon at a joint economic commission meeting in Sofia.

One contract, signed in December 1985, calls for the manufacture of lift trucks at the Tabriz machine manufacturing complex; Bulgaria will buy 5,000 sets of counterweights from the factory. According to another agreement, a Bulgarian firm will automate the painting line at the *Iran Khodrow* car manufacturing company, which assembles kits supplied by the UK's *Peugeot-Talbot*. The Bulgarians will also automate some production lines at the Tabriz piston manufacturing plant, and at the *Arak Wagon Manufacturing Company*.

The Bulgarians have also signed an agreement with the Heavy Industries Ministry to buy 500 *Renault* cars and 44 minibuses assembled in Iran.

Bilateral trade has tripled since the 1979 revolution, says Ivan Nikolov, commercial counsellor at Bulgaria's Tehran embassy. Two-way trade was \$ 80 million in 1976, rising to \$ 320 million last year. The 1986 target is \$ 500 million worth of goods. Of this total, \$ 20 million-25 million will consist of Iranian non-oil exports.

## In Brief

- ° Two Pakistani companies have contracts totalling \$34.5 million. The Rice Export Corporation has a \$27 million order for 150,000 tons of rice for delivery by July 1986. The Trading Corporation of Pakistan is to supply 75,000 tons of urea fertiliser, worth \$7.5 million.
- ° A grains and food purchasing team visited North Korea in Late January. The team was led by Morteza Movahedizadeh, head of the Government Trading Corporation (GTC), the state-run company responsible for all food imports.
- ° The 372,201-ton tanker Brazilian Pride has been sold to unidentified buyers associated with Iran for a reported \$6.5 million, according to the London daily Lloyd's List. The tanker is now in charter to Iran, for storage use at Sirri island. The Brazilian Hope, bought earlier, is already being used for storage at Sirri, and Iran is reported to be seeking to buy another ultra-large crude carrier.
- ° The Persian Gulf Shipyard at Bandar Abbas has built 55 vessels to date, according to an official of the state-run company. The yard recently took delivery of a West German-built dry dock (MEED 25:1:86).
- ° Co-operation with Japan in mechanised cultivation of rice, agricultural education and research, pest control and animal breeding was discussed at an early-February meeting between ambassador Yutaka Nomura and Agriculture Minister Abbas Ali Zali.
- ° Iran has failed to make its semi-annual interest payment on a Japanese loan for the Iran-Japan Petrochemical Company complex at Bandar Khomeini, according to Tokyo reports. The payment of 1,040 million yen (\$54 million) was due on 10 February. The 85 percent-complete complex was abandoned by Japanese technicians in October 1984 after Iraqi air raids (MEED 26:4:85).
- ° The fertiliser unit of the Shiraz petrochemicals complex was opened in early February by Prime Minister Hossain Moussavi (MEED 1:2:86). Initial output of 500,000 tons a year will be increased to 850,000 tons in 1987, Oil Minister Gholamreza Aqazadeh says. The effect will be to reduce imports of chemical fertiliser to nil, and save \$128 million a year in foreign exchange.
- ° UK businessman Roger Cooper is being held by the authorities on unspecified charges, the UK interests section at the Swedish embassy in Tehran says. Cooper is a marketing executive with US oil construction firm McDermott International in Dubai and works with the London daily Financial Times' advertising department. UK officials have not been allowed access to him since his arrest in early December, nor have they been notified of any charges. Cooper had been in Iran for several months prior to his arrest, unable to leave because he was told by the authorities he was under investigation. He was a resident for 20 years, until the 1979 revolution.

° Charge d'affaires in Paris, Gholamreza Haddadi, met France's External Relations Minister Roland Dumas in late January to discuss bilateral relations. The two countries recently started talks to settle financial and political differences (MEED 11:1:86).

° A team headed by deputy economy and finance minister Mehdi Navvab went to Paris on 12 February for talks about the repayment of a \$1,000 million Iranian deposit held by France's central bank since 1979. In January, a French delegation visited Tehran to discuss repayment terms (MEED 11:1:86).

° Tehran's Amir Kabir university has started courses in nuclear physics and technology, in co-operation with the Atomic Energy Organisation of Iran. One hundred students have applied for the 15 available places; those selected will be given scholarships.

° Automatic warning systems have been installed in some areas of the Gulf war front to provide soldiers with early warning of chemical and poison gas attacks, military officials said in early February. At the UN, representative Said Rajai Khorassani accused Iraq of renewed use of chemical weapons in the Ein-e Khosh area, in the southwest. Iranian forces have been mobilising in recent months for an offensive in the area.

/9317

CSO: 4600/243



IRAN

BRIEFS

CLANDESTINE REPORTS ON SHARI'ATMADARI--According to relatives of Ayatollah Seyyed Kazem Shari'atmadari who live in Hamburg, his health is critical and agents of the Islamic Republic have taken him to Tehran's (?Mohrad) hospital from Qom under guard. They add that he continues to be under arrest regulations while in the hospital and all contacts with him are banned. Ayatollah Shari'atmadari, who is considered one of the sources of emulation of Shi'ites of the world, has been under arrest now for 4 years. The order for the arrest and the confiscation of the wealth of this religious source of emulation, who considers Velayat-e Faqin contrary to the Shari'a, was issued by Ruhallah Khomeyni himself and the revolution. According to Ayatollah Shari'atmadei's son in Hamburg, who was talking to media representatives, his father is not allowed to use the telephone in the hospital. [Text] [(Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian 1330 GMT 27 Feb 86 GF] /12232

CLANDESTINE ON MEDICAL TEAM--A Voice of the Liberation of Iran correspondent reported from Mehrabad Airport that at 1852 [1522 GMT] on Tuesday afternoon [25 Feb] a medical team headed by a person named Richard (Morall) and three other foreign doctors arrived in Tehran in a special Islamic Republic of Iran's Government plane. They immediately departed for Jamaran. Our correspondent adds that this plane arrived in Tehran via London, Geneva, Frankfurt, and Istanbul. [Text] [(Clandestine) Voice of the Liberation of Iran in Persian 1630 GMT ] Mar 86 GF] /12232

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1 April 1986

## PAKISTAN

## JATOI URGED TO MATCH POLITICAL STRATEGY TO NEW REALITIES

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 31 Jan 86 Magazine p 4

[Article by Mohammad Ali]

[Text] Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi is like a political traveller, standing on the platform watching his train depart. He too could have travelled in that train but ups and downs prevented him from doing so. Now, for Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi, this travel is no longer even appropriate. Things have changed. At the moment, Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi is busy in political activities in his native district, furiously denouncing the government. The target of his speeches is, in his words, the new form of martial law. He maintains that martial law has not ended and is still in force. The political activities of Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi are confined to Nawab Shah. He did address the Larkana District Bar Association, but most of his time has been spent attending parties of prominent personages of Nawab Shah.

Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi found an important place in MRD politics and this movement raised his political stature and influence. But with changed conditions, he too has to recognize new realities. In the Peoples Party two political forces are presently at work. On the one hand, there is increasing pressure within the party against Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi and, on the other hand, Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi is himself trying to come to grips with the new conditions. Immediately upon his release, Makhdoom Khaliq Alazman demanded publication of the list which Benazir Bhutto had left with Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi. This list contains party-level nominations which are not acceptable to Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi. Coming on the heels of demands by Qasim Ali Shah and Maulana Ahtram Al Haq Thanavi, this demand by Makhdoom Khaliq Alazman is an indicator of new trends in the political situation.

Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi is essentially a moderate politician. During the MRD movement, President Ziaul Haq described him as harmless. But later on there were many times when Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi adopted an aggressive posture. And it can happen again now that his traditional rival Mumtaz Bhutto is returning to Pakistan on 7 February. He is the first politician in exile to announce his return to the country. Mumtaz Bhutto and Hafeez Pirzada have no connection left with the Peoples Party politics but, in his capacity as founder of the Sind Baloch Pakhtoon Front, Mumtaz Bhutto can strengthen his position throughout Sind by preaching the concept of nationalities. Even though, for a long time, Mumtaz Bhutto has not been active in Sind politics,

he can, because of his provincial-level slogans, prove to be a magnet for the youth. Now G. M. Sayyad has reached that age that he cannot participate in his own birthday celebrations. Instead, he cut the cake in Jinnah Hospital. To counteract Mumtaz Bhutto's aggressive political attacks, Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi, too, will have to revise his political strategy. Immediately upon his return to the country from abroad, Mumtaz Bhutto will conduct an extensive tour of Sind. The results of this tour will be very important inasmuch as it will serve as a political barometer for Mumtaz Bhutto. Objectives of the Sind Baloch Pakhtoon Front will be publicized. Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi will definitely keep a close eye on the repercussions of this tour. He is watching every move of his traditional rival with an eagle's eye. After an extraordinary struggle Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi has succeeded in keeping Mumtaz Bhutto out of People's Party politics, but can he keep him out of Sind politics? The answer to this question will be found in the immediate future. Mumtaz Bhutto is now free of the restrictions of the Peoples Party. Now he can take direct aim at his political rivals. What he will attempt to do is involve Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi in such a mire of difficulties that he will be unable to get out. Mumtaz Bhutto's strategy will be to stop the political advance of Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi. This will intensify political confrontation. Doubtless, this conflict of personalities will have its repercussions on the overall situation. Under these conditions, Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi will also make efforts to forge ahead and he will try to politic on the strength of new slogans. Even though Mumtaz Bhutto is no longer in the Peoples Party, his political supporters are entrenched in the party. With the help of his political supporters, Mumtaz Bhutto will try to create a rift in the Peoples Party. Mumtaz Bhutto's supporters have been posing a constant threat to Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi. In the list of the new organization, Benazir Bhutto has given preference to supporters of Mumtaz Bhutto. This list also contains names of people who have been active in the Sind Baloch Pakhtoon Front and these elements are now opposing Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi. On the other hand, Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi has been examining the politics of the MRD. Right from its formation to the present day, the MRD has proved useful to Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi. But now MRD politics is undergoing a change. Parties in the MRD are calling for electoral alliance and want a permanent unity for the MRD. This issue will surface during the 29 January meeting in Lahore.

For consideration of these issues, Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi has invited Khwaja Khairaldin to New Jatoi for important discussions of the new political conflicts. There is no doubt that in the new situation following the end of martial law and lifting of the state of emergency, Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi finds himself in trouble and that his problems will multiply in the future. If Benazir Bhutto returns from abroad, Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi will, for the time being, fade into the background and the shadow of her national politics will fall on the provincial politics.

The overall politics of Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi depends on the new situation. Now he will have to leave aside his emotions and grapple with the situation. Since the MRD movement, a lot of water has flowed under the bridges of Sind. Now the entire situation will hinge on hard political realities. Governments are functioning at the Center and in the provinces and, under these conditions, politics of confrontation will not be in the national interest. Mid-term

elections have been rejected by Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo, whereas Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi is demanding mid-term elections on the basis of the 1973 constitution. In the present context, Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi is following a thorny path. His way is complicated and the results of his journey are linked with the future of the country. Even if one disregards the political clout of the MRD, it is still important to note that at the moment the MRD is the alliance that has within it any political parties worth mentioning and which can prove itself to be the political alternative.

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PAKISTAN

# INDEPENDENT PARLIAMENTARY GROUP URGED TO FORM OPPOSITION PARTY

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 26 Jan 86 p 2

[Editorial: "The Issue Is Not of Bargaining Alone!"]

[Text] The members of the Independent Parliamentary Group (IPG) in the National Assembly and the Senate have announced in a general meeting at Faisal Abad that they would not engage in any bargaining with the administration regarding the protection of the people's interests and democratic rights and the solution of their problems. In their speeches, they also referred to the effort their group made to lift martial law and restore democracy. They also boasted that if they had a desire for ministries, instead of coming to Faisal Abad for the general meeting, they would have been wheeling and dealing for the ministries in Islamabad.

What these respectable members of the IPG have said with regard to their performance in parliament is certainly not any false claim. However, whereas circumstances have already smoothed out the path for the restoration of party politics and since the aim of this group also is to play a positive role nationally for the solidarity and progress of democracy, for which purpose they have already initiated a direct contact with the people by holding the meeting at Faisal Abad, to advance in this cause, they will also have to make arrangements for lasting unity and a powerful organization. If a group is small, its status is that of a flock or team, but if it is big, it resembles a crowd, which, though forceful, is noisy and makes it difficult to maintain law and order. These demands can be met through a regular party organization only. The remark made by the members of the IPG about not engaging in any sort of bargaining is praiseworthy. But, as long as it is merely a matter of a group, the chain of joining and leaving it will also continue. The identity of the group, despite expressing its pious wishes and lofty intentions, will remain a question mark. Those members of parliament who are political adversaries of the ruling party or are not openly prepared to support it will continue to assemble in it. They will also keep on cooperating with each other in this regard. However, their collective performance will be no different or better than those united fronts that have been established in our country for the sake of a joint effort to restore democracy. In this way, for the time being, a means of unity does come into existence, but, when the joint struggle appears to be successful and proceeding towards its logical end, the parties and organizations included in the

united front start emphasizing their respective gains and suppositions in such a way that their collective action for the sake of democracy becomes disorganized.

Not even one month has passed since the lifting of martial law and the restoration of democracy. Despite non-party elections, a need has already been felt to shape the administrative parliamentary group into an official political party. This group was founded after the establishment of the elected civil administration, which smooths the path to the establishment and existence of the IPG as opposition. This group played quite a vital role in approval of the 8th constitutional amendment bill, but it could not openly repeat this role for the bill of amendment to the political parties law. Now that the official parliamentary group has become a political party (Muslim League), according to the changed circumstances and the demands of the parliamentary structure, the IPG also will have to orient its organization toward the future. The members of this group who addressed the general meeting at Faisal Abad included, besides the parliamentary members connected with Punjab, certain elected representatives from Sindh and Baluchistan also. This in itself is a pleasant and encouraging factor. However, continuity nation-wide can come only through a regular organization.

The February 1985 elections were held on a non-party basis. However, the demands and expediencies of democratic politics compel one to feel the need of parties. Now that the ruling party has come into existence, those in the Assemblies who disagree with its view or program will have to prepare for effective and long-lasting coherence and unity among its ranks. The members of the IPG also, sooner or later, will have to bring to the forefront its views in this regard. The members of this group are accountable to the voters of their respective electoral precincts. They are also responsible for the solution of their problems. Law-making in the Assemblies is certainly an important task. But whether the next elections are held at the scheduled time or sometime in between, the members of the Independent Group also will have to prepare to participate in them. They will have to decide whether they will participate in them individually, as they did in February 1985; otherwise it will be essential to outline a joint modus operandi for them. If we analyze it from this viewpoint, the fundamental issue is not bargaining, from which the members of the IPG have dissociated themselves in Faisal Abad; rather it is to play, on a lasting basis, a coherent and active role to demonstrate in practice the firm resolve they have expressed to protect the interests and democratic rights of the people by spurning the ministries.

The phase through which we are passing right now, as a state and a nation, is that of starting anew the journey of democracy after the termination of the martial law. If politics appears weak because of 8.5 years of dormancy, the democratic institutions, too, have become very infirm. The features of the new political structure that is arising have not yet become fully distinct. The ruling party that has been formed or is being formed, is restricted so far to members of the Assemblies only. With regard to the name it has taken, former faithful office-holders and workers from every era are in a quandary as to what their status in the party will be. The buzz word of those political parties that did not participate in the elections is

"unacceptable." A few of the elected members who are connected with any one of the political parties are still waiting for official and legal status. Although the IPG is active and rather high-sounding, in order to compete with an organized and strong ruling party and become an alternate leadership, it will have to do a lot more. The need of the time, however, is that all political schools of thought, in this initial stage of the restoration of democracy, demonstrate extreme restraint, forbearance and mutual toleration and endurance, and think before they leap. In this regard, if it is said that the IPG bears a heavy responsibility concerning political leadership, it will not be an inappropriate or false statement. The determination of its active members not to conspire and participate in the race to bargain for the acquisition of ministries is, nonetheless, understandable. But, since it is the second largest group in the Assemblies after the ruling party, the role that it should play as an alternate leadership is something that it should start thinking about and planning for right now, so that, when people look to this group regarding this matter, they do not just receive a ration of despair and disillusionment. Instead, they can obtain some specific and positive answer.

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PAKISTAN

# ARMS LICENSE INCREASE SAID DANGEROUS

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 24 Jan 86 p 3

[Editorial: "Multitude of Arms Licenses"]

[Test] This press report will certainly be a source of astonishment and anguish in that, during the past 8 to 9 months, nearly 200,000 licenses for firearms have been issued in Punjab alone. This exaggerated trend continues to increase day by day. The fundamental reason being given for this is the monthly quotas for recommendations allowed federal and provincial ministers and members of parliament and the provincial assemblies. Besides increasing these quotas, heads of municipal bodies also have now been granted the authority to make recommendations. Previous political governments also were generous in issuing arms licenses to their followers which were reviewed after the change of government. However, the degree to which this procedure was perpetuated after the establishment of civilian governments in March-April 1985 is ominous. The issuance of arms licenses has always been restricted in most parts of this province. The common people have always relied solely on the organizations responsible for law and order for the safety of their lives, wealth and honor. The acquisition of licensed arms has mostly been a way of expressing one's status and authority, position and rank and prestige and dignity, or else pomp and show. The method that has been adopted now, however, has given ministers and elected legislators a way to reward their supporters. Nevertheless, if we analyze, from any aspect, the implications of the vast abundance of both legal and illegal arms, concern and fear are the only factors that appear to be spreading and gaining intensity. The question raised by the method of recommending the issuance of arms licenses under political patronage is, will anyone have the courage to review and carry out an impartial investigation of the licenses being issued or can circumstances take a turn favorable to that? Irrespective of the answer, the basic reality is that the breach made in the name of safety can gradually widen through abuse and excess and become extremely dangerous. The caution to "fear the time that awaits you" does not appear inappropriate here.

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DIRECTOR INTERVIEWED ON POF'S CAPABILITIES, FUTURE, PRC LINKS

Bonn WEHRTECHNIK in German Feb 86 pp 84-89

[Interview with Maj Gen Talat Masood, chairman of the Pakistan Ordnance Factories at Wah in the presence of the chief designer for electronics, M.A. Abidi, the chief designer for mechanics, Moeed Khan and the export director, A. Qadeer, date not given; interview conducted by Ezio Bonsignore, editor-in-chief of MILITARY TECHNOLOGY: "POF, The Hidden Giant"; the first paragraph appears to be a WEHRTECHNIK summary.]

[Text] A concern with 14 production enterprises which is exclusively concerned with the production of military hardware and has a labor force of about 40,000 is a respectable enterprise also by the international standard of industrial countries. Nevertheless even if well-informed Western experts are asked for a list of the most important armament firms, the prospects are good that Pakistan Ordnance Factories (POF) is not mentioned. This description of the firm is designed to overcome this state of affairs.

Because of the status as a government-owned and government-controlled enterprise without the special risks of a commercial enterprise but also without the latter's adaptability, POF until a short time ago took care to maintain a genteel reserve which was in accord neither with its size nor with its potential. However, things are changing and indeed quickly. In addition to the task of meeting the demand for the Pakistani armed forces, POF annually exports products valued at US \$ 30-35 million and its aim is to attain export proceeds of US \$ 150 million. In addition, preparations are being made to transform POF into a commercial enterprise with limited liability. It is a safe bet to say even now that in a few years the name POF will be as well known as that of the most important Western arms firms.

Pakistan Ordnance Factories has its headquarters in Wah and in the vicinity of Wah, a city of about 225,000 inhabitants, about 30 km from Islamabad. The first production plant started to operate in 1953 and since then there has been constant expansion. At present, POF is the biggest individual industrial enterprise in Pakistan.

The headquarters and the most important plant (weapons factory, small-arms ammunition factory, artillery ammunition factory, the explosives factory, and the brass rolling mill) are concentrated in a casern district in Wah. Recently

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a plant was opened there for production under license of the Chinese heavy machine gun, type 54, 12.7 x 107 mm (a copy of the Soviet DZhK-38/46). The tank and antitank ammunition factory is located in Gadwal and produces HEAT, HESH and APFSDS shells, calibers 100 mm, 105 mm and 125 mm; the production plant for large-caliber artillery ammunition (122-203 mm) is located in Sanjwal and another fuel and explosives factory is located in Havelian.

POF also produces a large share of the semifinished products for the production of weapons and ammunition, such as brass, steel products, semifinished products made of tungsten carbide and tungsten alloys as well as the most varied chemicals, in addition to explosives and fuels. POF depends on Western (British, U.S., German and Swedish) and Eastern (Soviet, Chinese) technologies as well as also on its own developments. This makes it possible to meet not only the demand of the most varied customers, but also frequently leads to a synergy effect because constructions of a given technology can be improved by the application of other technologies or production processes.

For developing countries it can be asserted almost generally that the armament industry forms the spearhead in the efforts for industrialization. POF is no exception in this respect; it can be said that in the case of Pakistan the importance is even more far-reaching. When Pakistan was founded, its leaders could fortunately resist the "blinding" temptation to achieve industrialization without regard to costs and prudently decided that the priority must lie in reorganization and modernization of agriculture to make the country self-sufficient as regards food supply. There was one important exception: and that was defense.

Without knowing this and the reasons behind this course, it is hardly possible to "understand" POF. Pakistan Ordnance Factories means much more to Pakistan than the name reveals: The enterprise is not only a supplier of military hardware for the armed forces and the biggest industrial complex of the country but also the greatest concentration of scientists, technicians, engineers and skilled manpower in the entire country. POF operates its own schools, hospitals and social organizations and generally sees to the welfare of its employees to an extent that does not exist anywhere else in Pakistan. Following the conversion to a commercial enterprise, POF plans to operate also on a large scale in the civilian sector and that not only for economic reasons but also to make the experiences and capabilities available to the modernization process of the country as a whole.

People in POF are aware of the firm's special position in Pakistan and they act and plan accordingly. They are purposefully aiming at far-reaching diversification and modernization of the product field. However, since profits, though welcome, are not the driving force, it was made clear that production under license and the adoption of foreign concentrations can be considered only if they contain a genuine and valuable technology and know-how transfer. The holding of the International Defense Seminar in Wah, jointly conducted by POF and the Moensch publishing group (the fifth seminar took place from 1 to 3 December 1985), is a further example of this trend.

POF Products

--Grenade launcher projectiles: 60 mm (HE/smoke/flare/signal), 81 mm (HE/smoke), 120 mm (HE)

--Aerial bombs: 750 lbs, 500 lbs low drag

--Infantry weapons: G3 and G3A3 automatic rifle, machine gun 1A3P and MG3, automatic assault rifle MP5A2; Production of the extra-heavy 12.7 mm machine gun, type 54, starts.

--Small-caliber ammunition: 7.62 x 51 mm NATO (L2A2 bullet, L5A3 tracer trajectory, blank, high pressure, practice rifle grenade); DM1 and M-13/DM6 belted; 9 mm PB. Production of 12.7 x 107 mm starts.

--Artillery ammunition: 105 mm howitzer (HE/smoke), 25 Pdr. (HE/smoke/dummy), 122 mm howitzer (HE), 130 mm gun (HE), 155 mm howitzer (HE M-109), 203 mm HE

--Tank and antitank ammunition: 100 mm APDS, 105 mm HESH, 105 mm APFSDS, 106 mm HEAT, 100 mm APFSDS is introduced

--Aircraft and antiaircraft ammunition: 40 mm (HE/T), 37 mm (HE/T), 30 mm (HEI/API/dummy)

--Antitank grenades: 40 mm HEAT (RPG7), rifle grenade P2

--Mines, pyrotechnical and miscellaneous products: plastic and metal hand grenades, antitank mines, AP mines including pop-up and shrapnel models; Very lights, trip wires for flares; Bangalore torpedoes and demolition charges; all types of military and commercial explosives; uniforms and clothing for the armed forces.

[Actual Interview]

WEHRTECHNIK: What really is POF? An arsenal belonging to the state, a government-owned firm, an army firm...?

General Masood: As you know, POF stands for Pakistan Ordnance Factories. That is a government-owned organization consisting of about 14 semiautonomous units, all of which produce items such as small and medium-caliber weapons, a very broad ammunition spectrum as well as explosives, fuels and many other related products.

WEHRTECHNIK: How did the founding of POF come about? What was the course of the enterprise's historical development?

General Masood: At the time when Pakistan was founded, there was no armament industry, actually there was no industrial base at all. Far back, with dawning independence in the years 1947-1948, the leaders of the country recognized that creation of a production capacity in strategic key sectors was an important prerequisite for independence. By the early 50's we had already created a

production base for the old Enfield rifle, which later on led to the establishment of an assembly line for small-caliber weapons and by which a broad spectrum of weapons is now being produced. In the beginning we had to develop our own industrial base and to create the technical conditions from within, we had to train many people and assimilate production processes from abroad. In summary, this first phase means a concentration of the qualified personnel. Now we are spreading farther from an expanding base and broaden our activities in our own country as well as abroad.

WEHRTECHNIK: Why did you choose Wah as headquarters?

General Masood: As you know, Pakistan is a country consisting of two separate parts, long and narrow, and it has long borders with many countries which are not necessarily friendly towards us. Therefore it was important to locate our armament industry as far as possible from the borders.

Wah also offered many infrastructure conditions, such as good water supply, good energy supply (mainly electricity), good road and railroad connections and a manpower potential. Moreover it is near the armed forces headquarters in Rawalpindi.

WEHRTECHNIK: At the time, POF was established with support from the British Royal Ordnance Factories. Does this signify that you continue to have more or less a British form of organization and operate according to British concepts or do you pursue other ideas?

General Masood: Initially that was probably the case. However, we were lucky enough to diversify our sources of technology and know-how: At the end of the 50's/early 60's, we received an injection of U.S. technologies and later on there was an expansion with Chinese technology which enabled us to produce, further develop and improve products of Soviet design.

In the mid-60's and early 70's there occurred close contact with Germany. There were also points of contact with Sweden. At present our entire production technology for small-caliber weapons is based on technologies of Heckler & Koch and Rheinmetall. The cooperation proved to be extremely fruitful. This also applies to Bofors with which we founded a joint enterprise.

WEHRTECHNIK: Do plans or ideas exist to change the present structure and organization of the POF as a government-owned economic enterprise?

General Masood: Yes, that is correct. POF is to become a government-owned firm with limited liability in contrast to a governmental organization and the reason is obvious. We want to introduce a feeling for economic responsibility and improve our capability to react to the various challenges to which an industry of this size is exposed on a national as well as international level.

WEHRTECHNIK: From what we have been able to ascertain thus far, POF is a little more for this country than a weapons and ammunition manufacturer. What is the reason for that?

General Masood: That is a very interesting point. The reasons why POF plays a more important role than as producers of military hardware and ammunition lie in our higher level of technology and our greater management experience in comparison with the other Pakistani industry. The educational level of our people, their industrial culture and their political awareness are higher than the average in this country and all these factors lead to mutual relations with the various sectors of Pakistani society. Moreover, even in the past POF has always been strongly oriented in the direction of the public good.

WEHRTECHNIK: Do you receive sufficient funds from your government for research and development or are you able to decide on your own what part of your profits can be reinvested in research and development?

General Masood: Frankly speaking, I must admit that the amounts which we receive for research and development are not as big as we would like them to be. Research and development are extremely important activities; dependence of foreign countries will never end unless sufficient investments are made here--on the contrary, that dependence will become greater all the time. At any rate, we have made a good beginning and POF has already developed a certain number of products. We concentrate our above-average people in this field and also attract trained personnel from the outside.

WEHRTECHNIK: At present, i.e. as a governmental authority, the bases for decision as to what is to be produced are the requirements of the Pakistani armed forces or do you have production areas which work mainly for export?

General Masood: Basically our planning of demand is influenced by our own armed forces. However, since we are now more and more economically oriented, we increasingly take into account the requirements of friendly nations.

WEHRTECHNIK: How big is the export share in the production?

General Masood: On the average 15 percent.

WEHRTECHNIK: Do you believe there will be an increase in the near and intermediate future or a more or less constant percentage?

General Masood: I believe it should get better at least as long as we can maintain our economic efficiency and choose products wanted by the market. However, our marketing strategy must be developed and improved.

WEHRTECHNIK: Your production is divided into products that you produce under foreign license and those that have been developed by POF, whereby the trend is in the direction of the latter. What are your main products on the national and international markets at the moment?

General Masood: I can give you an example here that illustrates this point. Worldwide there is a high demand for the 105 mm APFSDS projectile that we produce with technology obtained from Great Britain and the same also applies to the 100 mm APFSDS projectile that we developed ourselves.

WEHRTECHNIK: There are quite a number of firms in the world which produce the APFSDS projectiles. However, most of them purchase the subcaliber penetrators from much smaller firms which possess the technology as well as the machine equipment for this production. In contrast to that, we heard that you produce the penetrators yourself.

General Masood: A firm in Europe could, e.g., decide that it does not pay, or that it is uneconomical, to produce everything by itself. With us it is different: for to produce certain items independently depends not only on economic factors but also on strategic considerations. Deliveries from abroad can be interrupted or cut off. And as regards the penetrators they form, of course, the core--in the literal as well as in the figurative sense--of the APFSDS ammunition. If we had not acquired the capability for the production, we would be completely at the mercy of a few foreign firms. For this reason the decision to get involved with subcaliber penetrators and thus with the metallurgy of tungsten carbide and tungsten alloys, was a very sound decision on the global strategy level.

WEHRTECHNIK: The planned change into a firm with limited liability will, of course, put you in a position to deal better with financial and marketing problems. But what effect, whichever way, will this change have on the purchase of production and technology?

General Masood: Our principal goal will be to survive economically independent, i.e. not only to survive but also to prosper. To do so, one's products must be considered very critically and then a prediction will also have to be made which products the customers need in larger quantities so that the correct decision can be made in time.

WEHRTECHNIK: Let us now address the adoption of new technologies. What is your principal goal right now? To improve your production technologies or to raise the technical level of your products?

General Masood: These two aims go hand in hand, for there is a direct correlation between the two. For example, we came to the conclusion that we want to remain competitive with the rest of the world in the production of explosives and fuels and therefore we must produce not only explosives and fuels as such but also the plants and the equipment which are necessary for their production. And to a high degree that also applies to some special machines which are needed for the production of small-caliber weapons. In other words, we want to develop the capacity to produce at least some special machines and filling plants and on a smaller scale we are doing so now.

WEHRTECHNIK: A considerable growth potential apparently develops here. If everything develops according to your wishes and programs, what is POF going to look like 10 years hence?

General Masood: As far as we can judge now, in 1995 we are going to produce missiles, artillery rocket systems, submunitions and "smart" artillery shells as well as a wide range of explosives, fuels and pyrotechnical means. We are going to be also involved with many civilian projects, including machine building.

WEHRTECHNIK: Is your interest in the civilian market based on the wish to even out the ups and downs of the military market?

General Masood: In part, yes; but this is necessary not only for commercial reasons. The fact is that the entire nation is to benefit from the high level of technology concentrated in POF and that the spin-off effect of the military technology is to be utilized correctly.

WEHRTECHNIK: Is it also part of the considerations to harmonize POF products with the possible requirements of the entire Islamic world?

General Masood: Yes, we are very conscious of the fact that we must have a product spectrum that is harmonious but also serves the principal aim to equip our armed forces and to strengthen the economy. We want to grow in a way that we become an asset to our country and not a liability. At the same time in which we grow and develop, we keep the commercial goal in mind, for it is clear to us that no genuine growth is possible without an appropriate commercial strategy. Over a prolonged period only industries with a good economic base can survive.

WEHRTECHNIK: You, personally, are the originator of the idea of an International Seminar on Military Technology here in Wah Cantt, which this year is being held for the fifth time. What is your purpose of holding this event?

General Masood: Military technology advances so fast that, in spite of all books, magazines and brochures to which we have access, it was simply not possible to keep up with all developments. And, on the other hand, unfortunately daily routine work keeps us so busy that we consider it as very important for the entire management and the technical staff to obtain ideas from experts from all over the world. The thoughts of these experts also help us in rationalizing our own thinking. It is a very useful event in every respect.

WEHRTECHNIK: The seminar is also used regularly by very high-ranking Pakistani officials to transmit messages. In your opinion, what is the most important of these messages this year.

General Masood: As far as the foreign countries are concerned, and especially the highly industrialized countries, I believe that the most important message of my top officials dealt with technology transfer. All developing countries need technology transfer as regards armament as well as in other sectors and here Pakistan is no exception. The general impression is that the industrial countries react with reserve. In the seminar it was stressed that this is a very unfortunate attitude and that it is highly desirable to hand over technology at least to those countries which are acceptable and can afford it. The Pakistani officials also want to point out that the process of development is a difficult one. It proceeds in an evolutionary, not a revolutionary, manner. Very strong efforts can be made to achieve as much as possible, but it must be clear to people that things take their time. And only firms and industries will be successful which have performed advance planning and are resolved to be successful.

WEHRTECHNIK: Sometimes the view is held that military hardware that is produced in developing countries is inexpensive but that the quality will not

withstand criticism. Are you able to tell us something about quality control in POF and about the production standards?

General Masood: Our entire production follows NATO quality standards or corresponding standards of the country for which the product was developed. As for products of our own design, these are produced according to international performance standards which do not differ from those of the most important Western or Eastern countries.

As regards the specification, that is quite clear: Our test specifications and inspection regulations coincide with the generally accepted procedures. Without being prejudiced I can say that everything that leaves POF is at least as good as it can be found anywhere in the world. It is clear to us that we, as a relatively young enterprise in the export field and as an enterprise in a developing nation, must attach even greater importance to the quality of our products. And for this reason I believe that the extent of the inspections carried out with us goes beyond what would be normal in any highly industrialized country. Of course, this increases the price of our products. But it is a sacrifice we must make to strengthen our reputation.

WEHRTECHNIK: Thus you are competitive as regards quality. You have an interesting product range that is produced in part under license and in part is based on designs of your own. You start to become known abroad. But what about your prices? Are prices or political relations the main advantage which you utilize?

General Masood: The reasons for our export success are that our prices are reasonable, our products are as good as all others and we are located near our principal markets, especially concerning our fraternal Moslem nations. I would like to underscore that we pay very strict attention not to send material into areas of tension.

WEHRTECHNIK: How does your export procedure function?

General Masood: We require authorization directly from the government, whereby various ministries are involved.

WEHRTECHNIK: In what way, if at all, do your production processes differ from those applied by your licensors?

General Masood: We aim to make maximum use of our existing plants and installations. If we take over a production process from the outside, it is not necessarily so that it fits in with our facilities and in that case we change the production process accordingly. But, as already mentioned, only to the extent that the differences in the production process do not reduce the quality that was originally specified.

As many other firms the world over, we have to concern ourselves with the problem of quantities. However, the introduction of numerically controlled machine tools provides us with greater flexibility in changing over from one line of production to another.



WEHRTECHNIK: Do you feel that the good relations between Pakistan and China and the already existing cooperation between POF and the Chinese armament industry opens up further prospects?

General Masood: Now I predict that China will develop very quickly during the next decade or during the next two decades as far as the armament industry is concerned. Owing to the excellent traditional relations with China, Pakistan will undoubtedly profit from that, namely in the sense that the technology level coming from China will improve and that in this process POF and other national industries will get a lot of offset jobs. It could also lead to the export from Pakistan to China of military hardware and machine tools of medium technology.

WEHRTECHNIK: You are now producing products of different national origin and, in certain respect, also based on different level. Do you assess this as a positive or negative feature?

General Masood: Well, I would say both. But fundamentally the positive aspects are the more important ones. This is caused by the fact that there are many things in the highly industrialized world which we cannot directly absorb and assimilate and which we cannot offer as a product to our customers even though we were able to master the production process. For this reason we must also always have one foot at the other end of the technology spectrum.

Because of the fact that we have access to technologies from West and East, this is very useful because it enables us to improve material of Eastern design as regards effectiveness and production costs.

WEHRTECHNIK: Are you able to tell us something about the size of POF and the industrial capability?

General Masood: In this connection you must know that it isn't so that POF employs a few people who live in Wah, but that the city of Wah in its totality is involved with POF and other associated industries. Wah has a total population of over 225,000 inhabitants of whom 35,000 to 45,000 work directly for POF.

WEHRTECHNIK: This may possibly explain that you are not only POF chairman but also the chief mayor of Wah?

General Masood: Yes, I supervise also the public welfare and administrative activities. POF operates approximately 35 elementary schools, 16 secondary schools and 4 colleges with a total of 35,000 pupils and students as well as a hospital, an excellent library, transportation enterprises, etc. We have taken all these measures to improve the welfare and thus raise the productivity of our labor force.

WEHRTECHNIK: You have just started up production for the Chinese heavy 12.7 mm machine gun. What new products do you expect to go into series production in the near future?

General Masood: We would like to expand our activities in the field of artillery ammunition with parachute-deployed projectiles, submunitions, and, later on, smart shells. As regards tank ammunition, we are going to improve our present APFSDS projectile. In the field of the small-caliber weapons, we would like to become more flexible and will include 5.56 mm ammunition. We also want to get in on rocket technology.

WEHRTECHNIK: There are indications that the Pakistani army introduces caliber 5.56 mm. Should this program be carried out as planned, is the selection then influenced by licensing agreements which you possibly may conclude with foreign firms or is the army going to choose the weapon and leave the problem of production to you?

General Masood: Well, we have excellent coordination with the armed forces and consult with one another regularly. The terms of proposed licensing agreements will be an important factor in the decision.

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